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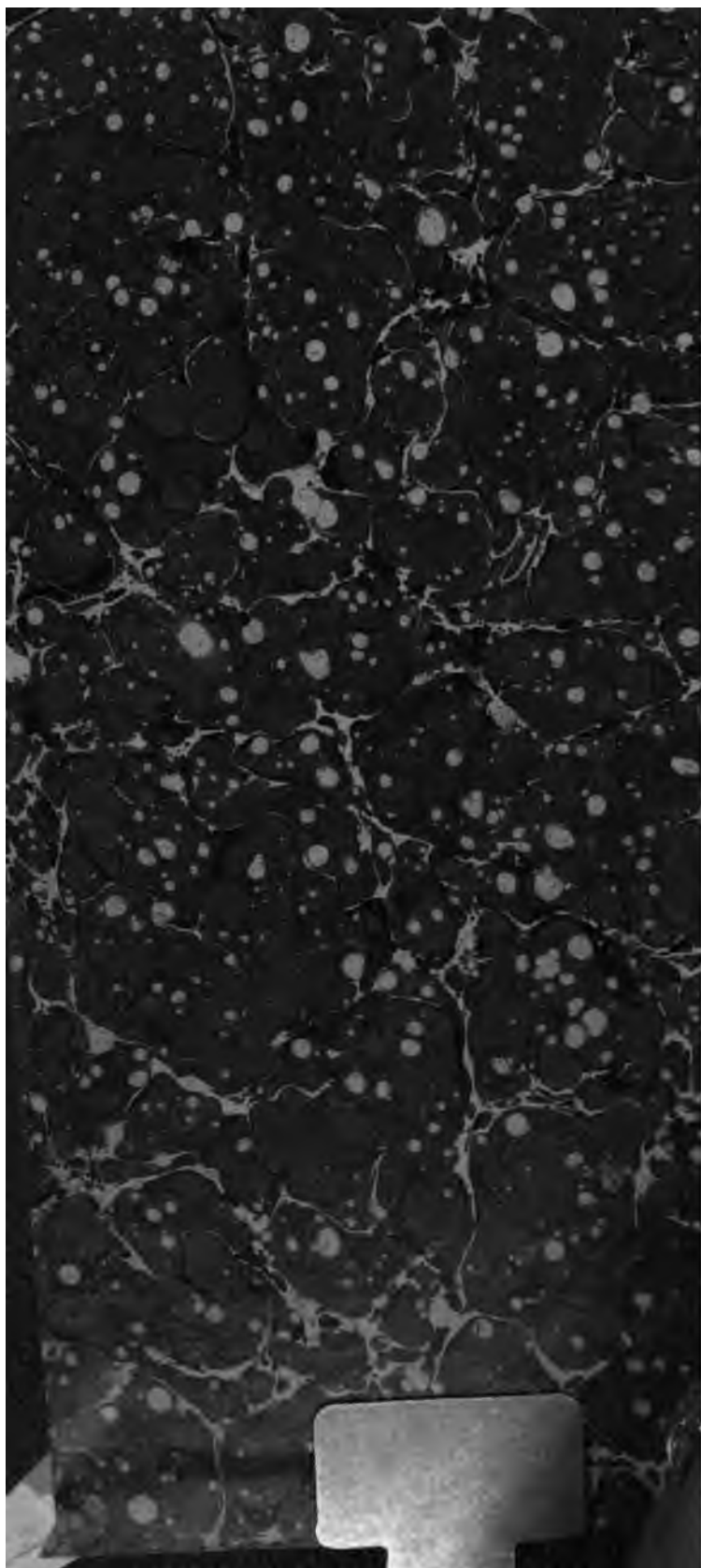
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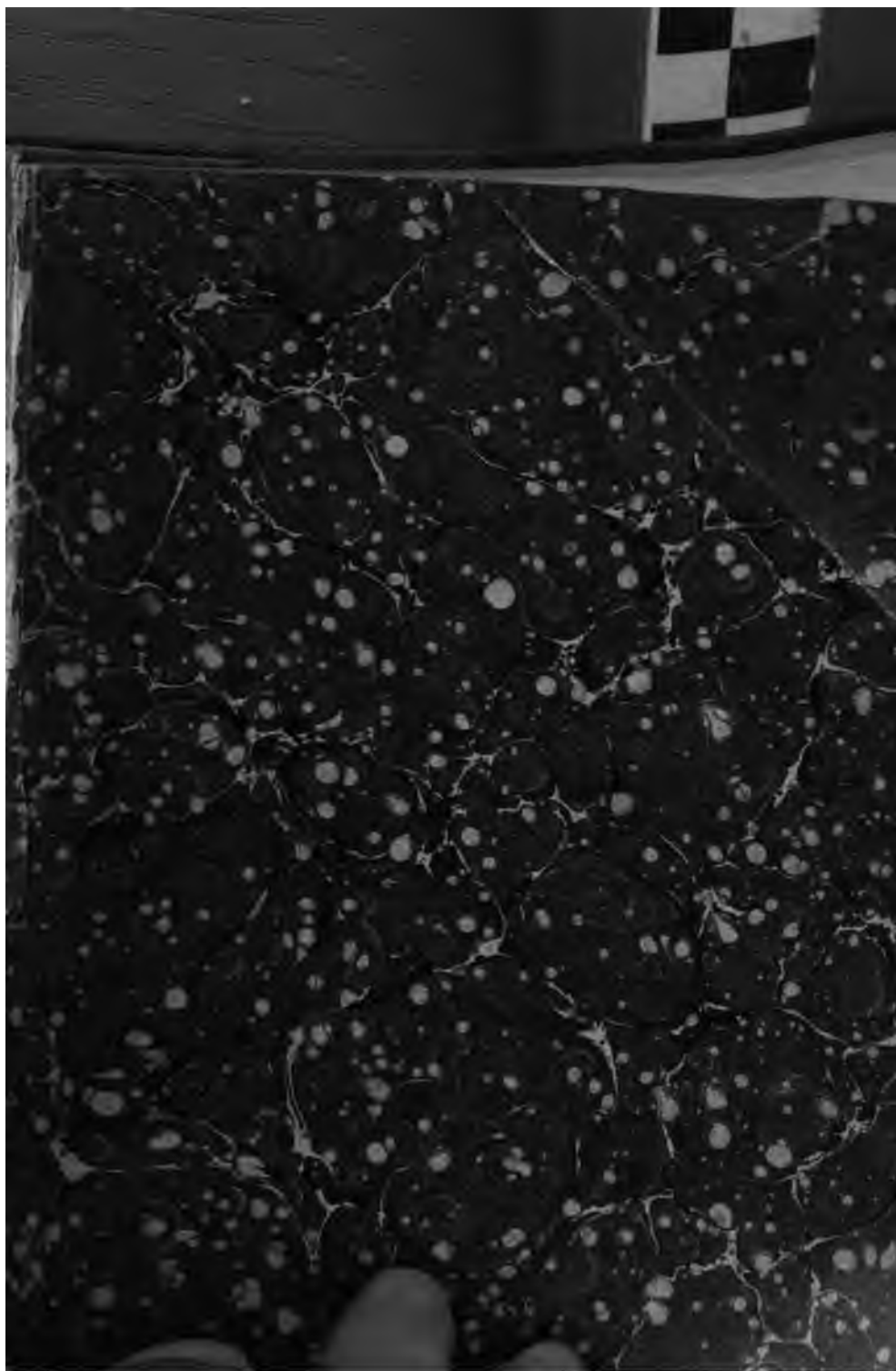
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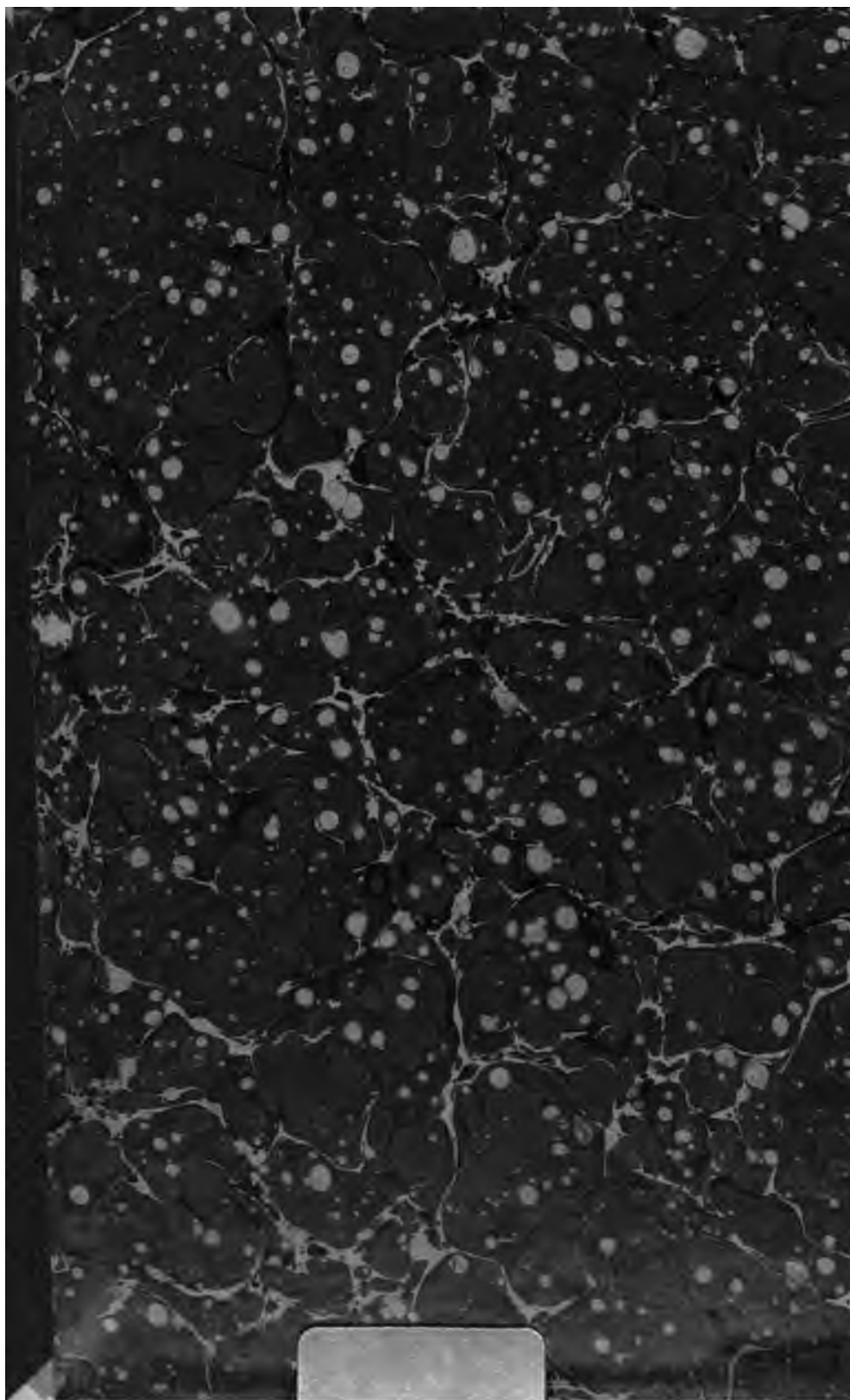


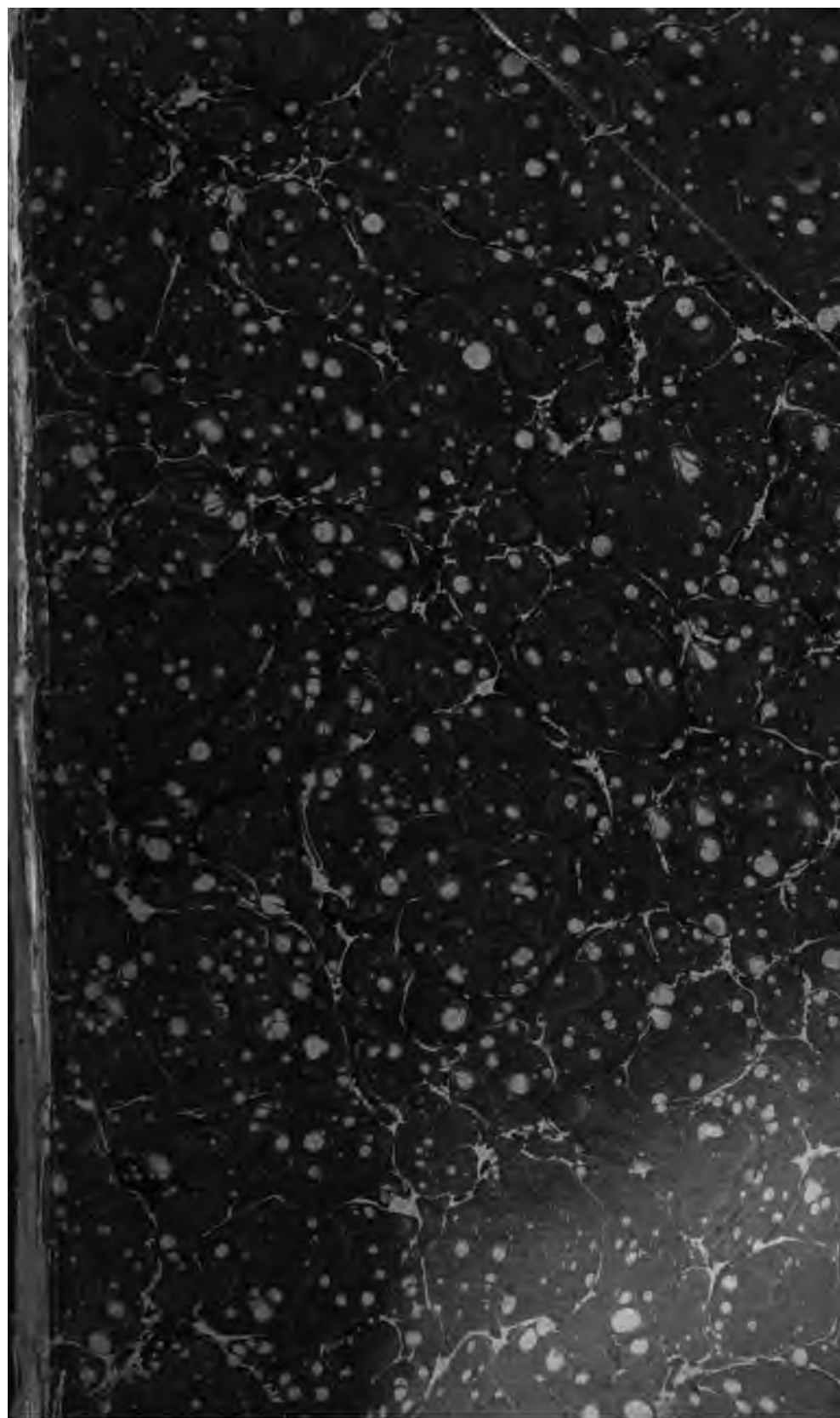












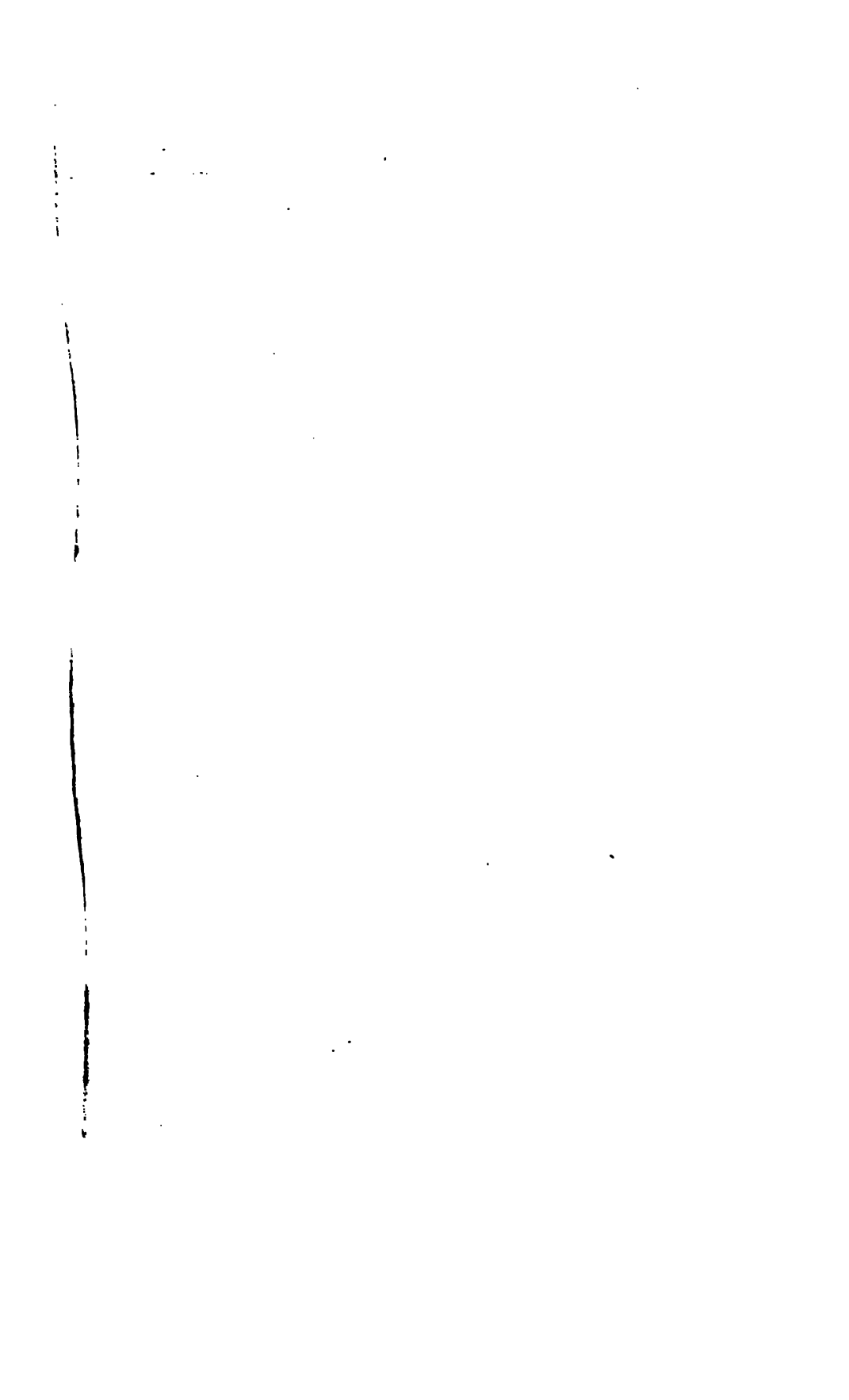




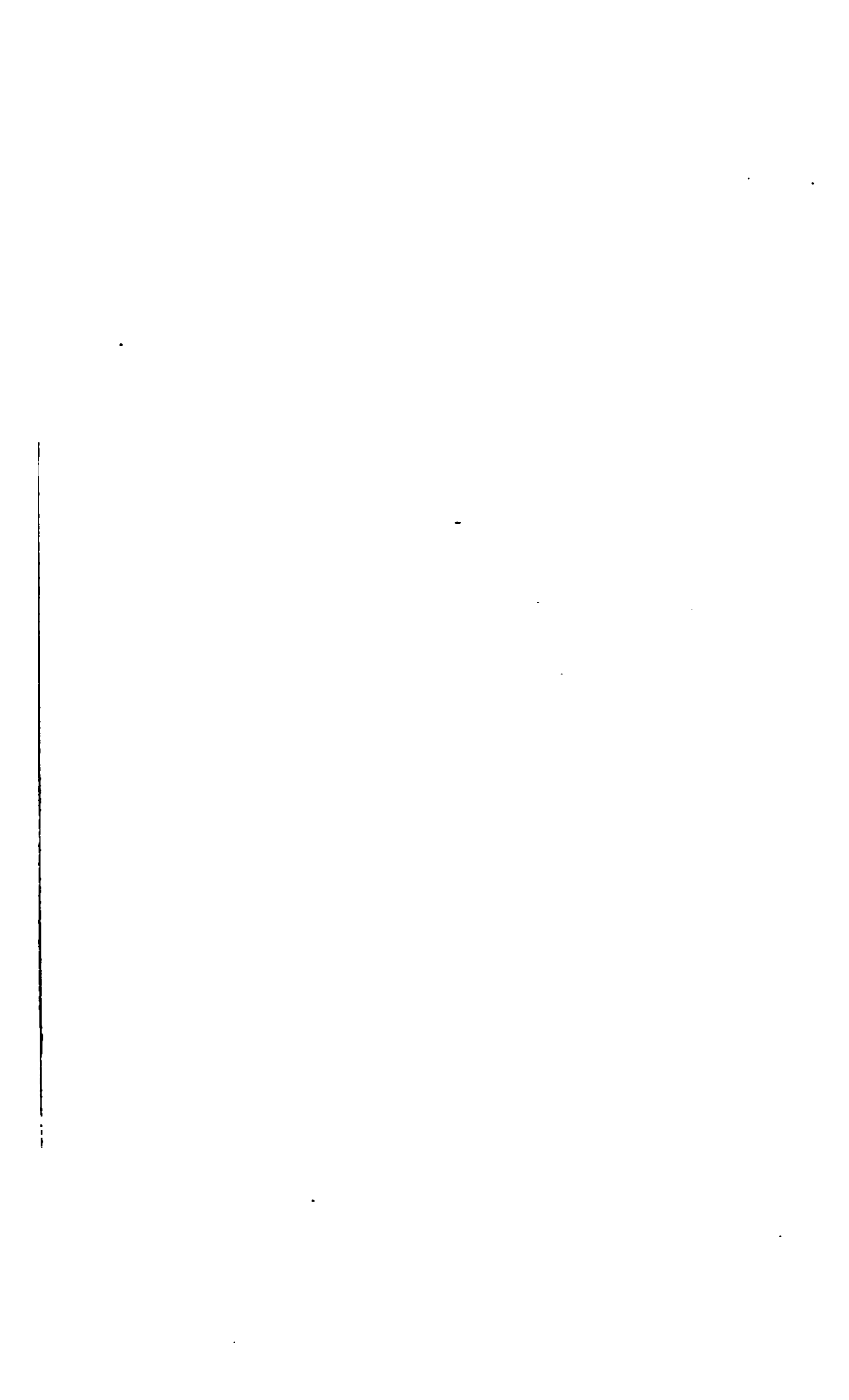














SULLIVAN'S CAMPAIGN

1779.

JOURNALS, NOTES

AND

BIOGRAPHY.

1879.



COLLECTIONS  
OF  
CAYUGA COUNTY  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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NUMBER ONE.

1879.

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THE JOURNAL  
OF  
LIEUT. JOHN L. HARDENBERGH  
OF THE  
SECOND NEW YORK CONTINENTAL REGIMENT  
FROM MAY 1 TO OCTOBER 3, 1779.  
IN GENERAL SULLIVAN'S CAMPAIGN  
AGAINST THE  
Western Indians

With an introduction, copious Historical Notes, and Maps of the Battle-field of Newtown  
and Groveland Ambuscade

BY GEN'L JOHN S. CLARK.

And parts of other Journals never before published.

ALSO A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

BY REV. CHARLES HAWLEY, D. D.

President of the Society.

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AUBURN, N. Y.

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## BIOGRAPHICAL.

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JOHN LEONARD HARDENBERGH, the author of the following Journal, was a native of Rosendale, Ulster County, in the Province of New York, born in the year 1748. He was the son of Leonard and Rachel Hardenbergh, and the youngest of seven children. The family name is one of the oldest in the State, and is prominent both in its colonial and revolutionary annals. As early as 1644, Arnoldus van Hardenbergh a "free merchant" emigrated from Holland to New Amsterdam "with a cargo of wares for sale in the colony." He was soon after selected as one of the original Nine Men of New Netherland, and served in this board from 1647 to 1650.<sup>1</sup> He was followed in, or about, the year 1652, by his brother Johannes van Hardenbergh, also a merchant from Amsterdam, who at this date was purchaser of "a house, lot and garden" on Manhattan Island. (Calendar, Hist. MSS. in

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<sup>1</sup> The original NINE MEN were selected by the Director-General from eighteen delegates chosen by the people, and composed of merchants, burghers and farmers. Six of the nine retired annually and their places were filled by appointment from twelve of the "most notable citizens." Their powers were advisory and limited, as they were only to give advice on such propositions as the Director or his council might submit to them. The object of establishing such a Board, and as rehearsed in the colonial charter, was: "That the colony, and principally New Amsterdam, our capital, might continue to increase in good order, justice, police, population, prosperity and mutual harmony; and be provided with strong fortifications, a church, a school, trading places, harbor, and similar highly necessary public edifices and improvements; that the honor of God and the welfare of our dear Fatherland to the best advantage of the Company and the prosperity of our good citizens be promoted; and that the pure reformed religion as it is here in the churches of the Netherlands may be inculcated and preserved." For further account of the NINE MEN and the part taken by Arnoldus van Hardenbergh in the affairs of the colony, see Col. Hist. N. Y. I, 258, 261, 270, 305, 310, 318, 324.

office of the Secretary of State, Albany, Part I, vol. iii).

The branch of the family that was subsequently settled at Rosendale, is traced to the year 1706, when Johannes Hardenbergh, with six others, obtained from the crown of Great Britain a grant of land which comprised, as computed at the time, 1,500,000 acres, located in Northern Ulster, then including a portion of the present county of Sullivan,—the western boundary extending to, or near the head of, the Delaware river. The terminal syllable of the name, *bergh*, indicates that the earlier ancestors in Holland were from the hills; and it was quite natural that their descendants should have found permanent location in the hilly districts of Shendaken and Shawangunk, stretching westward from the valley of the Hudson; neither is it surprising that they should have loved freedom and have given their best efforts for its establishment in their adopted land.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, Col. Johannes Hardenbergh, Jr. was placed at the head of the Committee of Safety for Ulster County—Kingston, its chief town, being at the time the seat of the New York Provincial Congress of which he was also a member. He had ranked as Colonel in the English colonial service, and been active in military affairs as early as 1748, when Sir William Johnson was in command of the New York troops for the defence of the frontier against the French and Indians. He was also given command by the Provincial Congress of one of the earliest regiments raised for the immediate defence of the Hudson above the Highlands, at the opening of the war of Independence, and from his experience and position was enabled to render distinguished service at that critical period. In 1786, three years after the return of peace, he removed from his farm in Rosendale to New Brunswick, N. J., to spend the remnant of his days with his son, Rev. Dr. Jacob R. Hardenbergh, the first President of Rutgers College.

Leonard Hardenbergh, a younger brother of Col. Johannes, Jr., and the father of the subject of this sketch, died July 7, 1776, only three days after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, and as his neighbors of the hardy yeomanry of Ulster, were leaving their harvests ungathered and marching to the defence of Fort Montgomery, one of the principal fortifications guarding the passes of the Hudson. In the official returns for the same month (July) the name of John L. Hardenbergh appears as First Lieutenant in the Second New York Militia under command of Col. Morris Graham, and assigned to the Brigade of Gen. George Clinton, who had remained in the Continental Congress to vote for the Declaration, when he hastened home to his command. Having served several months in this regiment raised under special call, Hardenbergh was commissioned Nov. 21, 1776, First Lieutenant in the Second New York Continental Regiment, under Col. Rudolphus Ritzema,<sup>2</sup> who was superseded Nov. 30, 1776, by the appointment of Col. Philip Van Courtlandt, a gallant officer and a personal friend of Washington whose confidence he shared to an unusual degree.<sup>3</sup> The regiment had the previous month been in the battle of White Plains, under Lieutenant-Col. Weissenfels, where it did some hard fighting; and was ordered by Washington to Fishkill for the winter, to be recruited and disciplined, and thus ready for active service in the Spring. But few enlist-

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<sup>2</sup> Col. Ritzema was a Hollander by birth, and educated as a soldier in the Prussian army. Being refused the advancement to which he deemed himself entitled, he left the American service, but not before he was suspected of disaffection, if not of treachery. During the battle of White Plains, where his regiment was engaged, he was some four or five miles away, and was shortly after displaced from his command. He subsequently joined the British army.

<sup>3</sup> Col. Van Courtlandt gives the following account of the manner of his appointment: "This commission was sent by General Washington, by express, and was of his own direction, having been furnished with blanks from Congress signed by John Hancock, President, for him to fill up as he thought proper, appointing me Colonel of the Second New York Regiment, dated November 30, 1776." *Autobiography, &c. The Magazine of American History for May, 1878.*

ments, however, were obtained, though several recruiting parties were sent out for the purpose: and in the Spring of 1777, it was ordered to Peekskill, a point for the collection of military stores, and where at this time large quantities had been gathered under protection of General McDougall's brigade. Soon after, a fleet of ten British ships or transports appeared in Peekskill Bay, and landed a force of five hundred men with four pieces of artillery, which compelled Gen. McDougall, who had scarcely half that number of troops, to retreat to Gallows Hill, about ten miles in the rear, leaving what stores could not be removed, in the hands of the enemy, who remained in possession of the town until McDougall was reinforced, when they retired to their ships and returned to New York.

After several weeks of hard and perilous service, Col. Van Courtlandt with his regiment, was ordered to Albany and thence to the relief of Fort Stanwix, then besieged by Colonel St. Leger with a party of Indians; but on information that the enemy had retired, he joined General Poor, then on the advance to Stillwater, to whose brigade the regiment became attached, and thus made a part of General Arnold's command, forming a portion of the left wing in the first battle of Stillwater, which was fought on the 19th of September. The loss of killed and wounded of the Second New York was two out of eleven, which was a larger proportion than of any other regiment engaged, the next largest being that of Col. Cilley's First New Hampshire, which was one out of seven, all of General Poor's Brigade.\* At the second battle, which occurred on the 7th of October, the regiment sustained its reputation for determined bravery and hard fighting, and thus bore an honorable part in the most important engagement, thus far, of the war, the results of which changed the whole aspect of the American cause.

\* *Autobiography of General Van Courtlandt.*

After the battle of Stillwater, which compelled the surrender of Burgoyne, and rendered fruitless the previous successes of the enemy along the Hudson, the regiment returned to Fishkill, and soon joined the army under Washington, then confronted by the British forces under General Howe, in the vicinity of Philadelphia. It shared the privations and sufferings of the terrible winter encampment at Valley Forge, (1777-8) the march to which of the half naked, half-starved, shoeless army might be tracked in blood through the December snows. It appears from an orderly book<sup>5</sup> found among the papers of Colonel, afterwards Gen. Henry Dearborn, also in the Sullivan expedition, that at Valley Forge, Hardenbergh was Lieutenant and Adjutant of his regiment and often served as Adjutant of the Day at Head Quarters. The whole encampment consisted of about eleven thousand troops; and when it was broken up the following Spring, upwards of three thousand men unfit for duty were left behind, under charge of Colonel Van Courtlandt, while his regiment proceeded with the main army, and participated in the battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778, winning commendation for bravery and good behavior in that hotly contested engagement.

While at camp with the main army at White Plains the same season, the Second New York Regiment was sent to guard the frontiers in Ulster County against the depredations of the Indians under Brant, who had already destroyed several houses and murdered men, women and children. It remained in the neighborhood of Laghawack, on this duty, during the winter of 1778-79; and in the Spring while on the march to surprise Brant stationed on the Delaware with about one hundred and fifty Indians, an express from General Washington overtook the regiment with orders to proceed to Fort Penn, there to await orders from General Sullivan. It is at

<sup>5</sup> *Mss.* in possession of Mr. John H. Osborne, of Auburn, N. Y.

this point that the Journal of Lieutenant Hardenbergh, herewith published, dates.

On its return from the Expedition, the regiment proceeded to Easton, Pennsylvania, and from thence to Morristown, N. J., where it was hutted for the winter. In the spring of 1780 it was sent to Fort Edward for temporary service, and in June proceeded to West Point, and in expectation of an attack from the enemy, was posted on the mountain west of Fort Putnam. This proved, however, to be a feint to cover an invasion of the Jerseys. During the treason of Arnold the regiment was at Tappan, whither Andre was taken after his capture, and where he was tried and executed.

From the autumn of 1776 to the winter of 1780, Lieutenant Hardenbergh was identified with the Second New York, sharing its fortunes, and participating in the important battles in which it was engaged, when the five New York regiments were consolidated into two, in which arrangement he fell into that class of officers who were retained in service but not attached to any battalion. But in July 1782 he was made Captain of Levies under Lieut. Col. Weissenfels, in which capacity he continued for the remainder of the war.

In the summer of 1781, he is accredited in the chronicles of the time, with a daring exploit, which indicates the kind of service in which he was engaged after he ceased to be attached to the Second New York. A body of three hundred Indians and ninety Tories under Captain Cauldwell, an officer in Butler's Rangers, appeared on the frontier of Ulster County, in the neighborhood of Warwasing, having passed unobserved the stockade forts at the north of Lackawaxen and Neversink, expecting to surprise the settlements and repeat the scenes of massacre which had desolated other regions in the vicinity. Captain Hardenbergh, at the time, was stationed with a guard of nine<sup>6</sup> men, near the house of J. G. Har-

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<sup>6</sup> Some accounts make the number even less.

denbergh,' and at a point some three miles distant from a small fortress at Warwasing. As the enemy passed the fort just before the break of day they were fired upon by the sentinel. The report alarmed Captain Hardenbergh, who with his little band proceeded immediately in direction of the sound, and on his way met the enemy directing their course toward the settlement, which is now called Rochester. Nothing daunted he gave them battle; but being closely pressed he soon discovered that his retreat was cut off by a party of Indians who had gained his rear. In this dilemma the Captain resorted to stratagem which admirably answered the purpose. It was as yet barely light, and turning aside in the woods with the little company, to conceal the smallness of his force, he took off his hat and huzzaed with all his might, at the same time advancing toward a small stone house near by, and in face of the Indians, who supposing that the troops were coming up from Pinebush, took the alarm and skulked off in every direction. But no sooner had Hardenbergh and his company reached the house, when the Indians discovering the ruse, poured a shower of bullets after them just as they were safely within the door. Here they found six militia men besides, making sixteen in all, and being well armed, made all preparations to hold their position against the invaders. With an ax they broke a series of loop-holes in the rear of the house and through the sides of the steep roof, thus commanding its approaches on all sides. The enemy advanced several times to carry the house by assault,

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<sup>1</sup> This house was pillaged about the same time, and large quantities of clothing and vegetables taken by the Indians. One Indian, a chief, emerged from the scene of plunder, mounted on a horse taken from the stable, profusely arrayed in stolen apparel, with silver bands about his arms and a bunch of some forty silver broaches hanging about his person. He was discovered by some soldiers who were on the alert to get a shot at the invaders as they were leaving the place, when one levelled his rifle at him and fired. He was seen to lay over on his horse, but turning into the woods, disappeared. Some time after, his body was found near the place where he was shot with his plunder still about him. *Narrative of Massacres and Depredations in Wawarsing, &c., &c., Rondout, 1846.*



but as some of their number were doomed to fall at every onset, they as often gave way, and at length were compelled to relinquish the attack, leaving thirteen dead upon the field. In the meanwhile the firing had aroused the neighborhood, and Col. Henry Pawling with a detachment of State Levies, stationed about six miles from the scene of action, hastened forward, but arrived too late to have a brush with the enemy, and only in season to capture a straggler, who had lingered for fruit, near an apple orchard. Cauldwell was in full retreat, and though pursued by Colonel Pawling with his regiment of Levies and Colonel Cantine with a regiment of State Militia, for some days, finally escaped. The enemy, however, suffered severely and besides losing a number of men, were so near starvation that they were obliged to eat their dogs before they reached Niagara, the point from which they had started on their errand of pillage and murder. This was the last attempt of the kind made upon the frontier settlements, which had suffered so severely from repeated invasions of Indians and Tories during the Revolution. It was designed to be a finishing blow upon that region, and as we have seen, it was largely due to the bravery and military tact of Captain Hardenbergh that the stroke was averted.<sup>a</sup>

At the close of the war, during the entire period of which he had been in active service, he returned to his native place, to share the fruits of Independence with peace, which he had done so much to secure. He had justly acquired the reputation of a brave and skillful officer, and his name still appears on the Roll of Honor in the cabinet of Revolutionary memorials kept at Washington's Head-Quarters at Newburgh. He was for a time on Washington's staff; and his whole record is that of a devoted patriot and a faithful sol-

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<sup>a</sup> *Stone's Life of Brant. Narrative of Massacres and Depredations in Wawarsing, &c., &c., Rondout, 1846.*

dier, at a time when the country needed every heart and hand for its defence.

In 1789, the Indian titles to most of the lands in the State of New York, having been extinguished, the Legislature provided for the survey of a certain portion of these lands, already set apart for the soldiers of the State, who had served in the war of the Revolution. This tract embracing 1,680,000 acres, and denominated the Military Tract, included the present counties of Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca and Cortland, also the larger part of Tompkins with portions of Oswego and Wayne. It was surveyed into twenty-eight townships, containing each one hundred lots of six hundred acres. Each private soldier and non-commissioned officer had one lot assigned him. The officers received larger shares in proportion to their rank. Colonel Hardenbergh was appointed on this survey, in immediate association with Moses Dewitt, brother of Simeon Dewitt, at the time Surveyor-General of the State, and was occupied in this work during the years 1789-90. His field books, neatly kept and carefully preserved, are now in possession of the Cayuga County Historical Society, one of several valuable donations from the family to the Society's archives. The lands which fell to him on the assignment of military bounties, were located in Onondaga, disposing of which, he purchased lot Forty-Seven, within the present limits of Auburn, from Ogden and Josiah Hoffman, and originally patented to Captain Thomas Doughty also of the Second New York. The deed bears date Feb. 16, 1792, and the consideration was one hundred and eighty pounds N. Y. currency. Colonel Hardenbergh was familiar as a surveyor with its comparative advantages, for a settlement, and especially with its superior water power, and had already indicated the lot on his map of survey as a "good mill site." He came on to his lands the same year (1792) bringing with him several negro slaves, and built a bark shel-

ter near the site of the present Hardenbergh mansion, and on the spot where the City Hall now stands. He made a visit in the fall or winter of that year, to Rosendale and was united in marriage to Mary Bevier, also of one of the most substantial and prominent families of that part of the State, and soon after returned to make further preparations for a permanent home. This year also he received a commission as Major in the Battalion of Herkimer County, having previously been appointed a Captain in a Battalion for Montgomery, which until 1791 included the counties of Herkimer and Tioga. He was also appointed, in 1793, by Governor George Clinton, his old Brigade commander on the Hudson in the beginning of the war, an Associate Justice for Herkimer County, and designated the same year as one of the three Commissioners to lay out and construct the Genesee Turnpike. His last military promotion was that of Lieutenant Colonel of a regiment of Militia in Onondaga County, in April, 1796, by Governor John Jay, and gave him the title of Colonel, by which he is most commonly known in the early annals of Auburn.

In 1794 he had completed a saw and grist mill, on the Owasco Outlet, near where the Stone Mill now stands, opposite the junction of Genesee and Market Streets, thus forming the nucleus of a settlement known as Hardenbergh's Corners until 1805, when it took the name of Auburn.

The death of his wife occurred in the Spring, a little more than a year after their marriage, leaving an infant daughter, and before his arrangements were complete for bringing them to their new home in the wilderness.

In 1795 a colony of ten families from Gettysburgh, Pa., made a settlement about three miles up the Owasco Lake, and at once organized a Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, which subsequently took corporate form and title, Sept. 23, 1796, at a meeting held at the house of Colonel Harden-

bergh, who identified himself with this society in the faith and order of which he had been educated. His copy of the New Testament with the Psalms in a single volume, and in the Dutch language, is still preserved; and bearing on the fly-leaf, under his own signature, the same date with that of his first army commission, it shows the signs of ordinary use not only, but the unmistakable marks of the exposure and hardships incident to a soldier's life.

His second marriage, in 1796, was with Martina, daughter of Rœliff Brinkerhoff, one of the first deacons of the Owasco church, and the names of his two children by this marriage, Maria and John Herring, appear on the baptismal register of that church for the years 1798 and 1800. The only son, John H. Hardenbergh, was in subsequent years one of Auburn's most prominent and public spirited citizens. As the heir to the landed estate of his father, originally covering a large section of the territory now occupied by the city, his wise and generous policy toward purchasers of lots and tenants, contributed much to its growth and prosperity. The lot, in the centre of the city, on which stands the First Presbyterian church, one of the most substantial and elegant structures of the kind in the State, if not in the country, was his gift, before he had become of age; as were also eight acres of land comprised in the spacious grounds occupied by the Auburn Theological Seminary. These and similar deeds of generous foresight, together with an amiable character and a blameless Christian life, preserve in esteem and honor the name so closely identified with the origin of our favored city.

Colonel Hardenbergh died after a brief illness, on the 25th of April, 1806, in the 59th year of his age, and was buried with military honors in the North Street Cemetery. The Rev. David Higgins, then pastor of the Congregational Church of Aurelius, and the founder of the First Presbyterian Church of Auburn, preached the funeral sermon from

the Epistle to the Philippians, iii; 20, 21: *For our conversation is in heaven; from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself.* The horse bearing the sword and uniform of the deceased officer, was led by Harry Freeman, one of the Colonel's slaves to whom he had given his freedom. A long procession of military and citizens followed the remains to the grave. The whole scene was imposing, as a sincere tribute of the respect and esteem cherished for the man who had braved the perils of the then recent struggle for national independence, and with generous hand had laid the foundations, in the wilderness, of a well-ordered community. He had passed thirty years of his life as a soldier, a surveyor, and a pioneer settler, and had occupied the most responsible trusts in the rising settlement which owed to him its origin. He was moreover a great favorite with his fellow pioneers, and with all who were seeking new homes in the immediate vicinity, ambitious rather for the thrift of the place than for personal gains, or the promotion of selfish ends—forward and generous in all plans to establish religion, education, justice and good order, with whatever tended to the permanent prosperity and true character of the infant settlement. He was not always careful of his own interests, and was sometimes imposed upon by those in whom he confided as if they were as trustworthy as himself. If a neighbor wanted a bushel or two of grain, he might be trusted to measure it himself and render his own account. In this way and in others characteristic of him, he doubtless now and then lost pecuniarily, but they gave him a strong hold upon the better and larger class of his co-pioneers, and a leading influence at this forming period in our history. Indeed, Auburn owes very much to the spirit, foresight and enterprise of its founder.

In person, Colonel Hardenbergh was tall, of swarthy complexion, robust frame, and is said to have been a most commanding figure on horseback, in his regimentals, on military occasions. He took an active part in the politics of the day, and was decided and open in the expression of his opinions. He was a warm friend and ardent supporter of Governor George Clinton, under whom he had served in the first year of the war, and whose confidence he largely shared in the distribution of military promotions and civil appointments. A sturdy patriot, a brave soldier, a civilian, honored and trusted in public station and in private life, he has fairly won the gratitude with which communities are wont to remember their founders.

## INTRODUCTION TO JOURNALS.

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The following is printed from the original manuscript, in possession of the family, in the hand-writing of Lieutenant Hardenbergh, undoubtedly an original journal made by him during the campaign of General Sullivan against the Indians.

The route covered by the Journal, begins at Wawarsing, in Ulster County, New York, passing south-westerly along the Mine road and Delaware river to Stroudsburg, Penn.; thence westerly over the mountains, by the Sullivan road to Wilkesbarre; thence up the Susquehanna river to Tioga Point near present Athens, where General Clinton's brigade on August 22d, joined the main army; thence up the Chemung river to present Elmira, and northerly to Havana; thence along the east shore of Seneca lake to present Geneva, and by way of Canandaigua, Honeoye, and Conesus to the Genesee river near present Cuylerville, in Livingston county, where was found the great Seneca town of Chenandoanes, or Genesee Castle, the most westerly point reached by the expedition.

The return was over nearly the same route to Easton, and thence up the Delaware to Morristown, N. J., where the regiment went into winter quarters.

In addition to Lieutenant Hardenbergh's journal, will be found that part of the journal of Major Erkuries Beatty, which relates to the march of General Clinton's brigade from

the valley of the Mohawk, down the Susquehanna river to join General Sullivan at Tioga Point.

On the return march, Sept. 20th, when the army reached Kanadasega, an Indian town near present Geneva, Lieutenant Colonel William Butler commanding the Fourth Pennsylvania regiment, was detached with six hundred men, with orders to proceed around the north end of Cayuga lake, and devastate the Indian settlements on the east side. Thomas Grant accompanied this detachment; that portion of his journal which relates to the operations of this force, is also presented.

On the next day, September 21st, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Dearborn commanding the third New Hampshire regiment, with two hundred and fifty men, was detached to proceed along the west shore of Cayuga lake to complete the destruction in that quarter. That part of Colonel Dearborn's journal describing his operations on this march, also appears. The journals of Lieutenant Hardenbergh, Major Beatty and Colonel Dearborn, have not hitherto appeared in print.

Notes have been added mostly from cotemporary writers illustrating the text, and giving descriptions of events and places mentioned, also introducing, at the proper place, descriptions of important matters referred to and described in other journals, but not appearing in any of the preceding.

Especial attention has been given to the descriptions of Indian towns, and it is confidently believed, that here for the first time, can be found, at least, an approximation to a complete list, and the exact location of the entire number destroyed. The descriptions in nearly all cases are from personal knowledge obtained by actual survey; the evidences of aboriginal occupation being plainly apparent.

The maps and descriptions of the battle field of Newtown, and of the Groveland ambushade, it is believed will be an important addition to the literature of the campaign, and a



valuable aid to those engaged in its study; and will present a more correct description of these important matters than has hitherto appeared in print. The conclusions reached, are the result of a most patient examination of all authorities accessible, and will be likely to stand the test of the most intelligent and critical scrutiny. The list of journals and narratives relating to this campaign, though not as perfect as might be desired, will be found useful to those who wish to obtain authentic sources of information, and undoubtedly, many will be surprised to learn that so much original material is in existence and accessible.

The text of the several journals, has been followed literally, from the original manuscript when possible. Proper names, especially those of Indian towns, even in the same manuscript, are often found with material variations in spelling, and in many instances, different authors give entirely different names for the same place; in other cases wrong names are applied, and frequently are transposed. The great Seneca town, on the Genesee river, is honored with several distinct names, one of which has seventy variations in spelling; and Appletown has three distinct locations, several miles distant from each other. Care has been taken, to avoid confusion as much as possible, by explanations in the notes, and in the use of names most in accord with those in modern use.

## JOURNAL OF THE CAMPAIGN OF THE YEAR

1779, COMMENCING MAY 1st.

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Saturday, May ye first.—Drew out of our Winter Quarters at Wawasink<sup>9</sup> and encamped in a field near Jacobus Brown's at that place.

Sunday, May 2nd.—Laid still in camp.

Monday 3d.—Drew provisions and prepared for a march.

Tuesday, 4th.—Struck our tents. Loaded our baggage in order to proceed on our march for Wyoming, but being alarmed by an express that the savages were murdering the inhabitants at Fantine Kille,<sup>10</sup> about five miles in our front,

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<sup>9</sup> WAWASINK—An Indian word, said to signify "a black bird's nest," the name of a town and village in south-west part of Ulster County, N. Y., containing a post village of same name, located on Rondout Creek on the line of the Delaware and Hudson Canal. The surface of the town is mostly mountainous uplands, intersected by deep valleys. The Shawangunk Mountains extend along the east border, and spurs of the Catskills occupy the central and west parts, the highest peaks being from 2,000 to 3,000 feet above tide. The eastern and north-western parts are rocky and precipitous, and unfit for cultivation. There was a stone fort in the village on the site of B. C. Hornbeck's house. On Aug. 12, 1781, a large party of Tories and Indians under one Caldwell, appeared in the town with a design of falling upon Napanock, but being informed that the place was defended by cannon they came to Wawarsing before the inhabitants were up in the morning. Two men and a young woman discovered the enemy before they reached the fort, and the young woman succeeded in closing the door just in time to prevent it from being burst open by the savages. Finding further attack to be dangerous they dispersed and burned and plundered the out settlements, and next day withdrew laden with spoils. Several lives were lost on both sides and much property destroyed.—[The Indians—or Narratives of Massacres and Depredations on the frontiers of Wawarsink and Vicinity, p. 21.

<sup>10</sup> FANTINE KILL, a settlement, on a stream of that name, about a mile from the present village of Ellenville, in the town of Wawarsing, Ulster County. The attack was made at day-break by a party of thirty or forty Indians under Brant, who came by the way of the Indian trail to Grahamsville, and from thence through the woods to the set

Coll. Cortlandt marched to their assistance, but before we arrived at the place they were gone. At 4 in the afternoon returned to Wawasink and remained in houses.<sup>11</sup>

Wednesday, 5th.—Remained in the Quarters of yesterday.

Thursday, 6th.<sup>12</sup>—At 7 in the morning loaded baggage, marched to Lurenkill<sup>13</sup> and halted at Broadhead's<sup>14</sup> for refreshment about two hours, and marched for Mamacotting,<sup>15</sup> where we arrived at 7 o'clock at night.

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tlement. Widow Isaac Bevier and two sons were killed, also the entire family of Michael Socks, consisting of the father, mother, two sons who were young men, two children, and one or two others. They attacked the house of Jesse Bevier, but the inmates being good marksmen and having plenty of ammunition succeeded in defending themselves until Col. Van Cortlandt came to their relief.

"As I was about marching from my encampment, having called in my guard, I discovered smokes rising from the village about six miles south, and a lad sent from its vicinity informed me that the Indians were there burning and destroying. It was occasioned by two of my men deserting in the mountains, when I received the order to return; for they went to Brant and informed him that I was ordered away, and he expected that I was gone. \* \* \* On my approach Brant ran off. He had about one hundred and fifty Indians, and as I approached him, he being on a hill, and seeing me leaning against a pine tree waiting for the closing up of my men, ordered a rifle Indian to kill me, but he overshot me, the ball passing three inches over my head."—[Col. Van Cortlandt's manuscript statement, 1825.

"General, while you were standing by a large tree during that battle, how near to your head did a bullet come, which struck a little above you?"

The General paused for a moment, and replied—"About two inches above my hat."

Brant then related the circumstances. "I had remarked your activity in the battle," said he, "and calling one of my best marksmen, pointed you out and directed him to bring you down. He fired and I saw you dodge your head at the instant I supposed the ball would strike. But as you did not fall, I told my warrior that he had just missed you, and lodged the ball in the tree." Conversation between Brant and General Van Cortlandt—[Stone's life of Brant, II., 460,] incorrectly located at the battle of Newtown.

<sup>11</sup> "Col. Cantine commanding a regiment of militia arrived during the day. I then pursued but could not overtake him, as he ran through a large swamp beyond the hill; and Col. Cantine being also in pursuit, I returned, not having any prospect of overtaking him." [Col. Van Cortlandt's statement, 1825.

<sup>12</sup> "The second day after, pursued my march to Fort Penn as ordered by the commander-in-chief, and there received General Sullivan's orders to make a road through the wilderness." [Col. Van Cortlandt's statement, 1825.

<sup>13</sup> The present name of a stream flowing south-easterly two miles south of Ellenville.

<sup>14</sup> On the Lurenkill two miles south of Ellenville.

<sup>15</sup> Present WURTZBOSS in town of Mamacating on Saunthier's Map of 1779, said to have been named in honor of an Indian chief, is about fourteen miles south-west of Wawarsing. A block house was here occupied during the revolution.

Friday, 7th.—At 4 struck tents, marched at 5, halted at Bashesland for refreshment for about two hours, proceeded on our march. Crossed Denanasink<sup>17</sup> Creek at Dewitt's<sup>18</sup> and arrived at Major Decker's, crossed the creek with wagons and encamped in the field near Decker's house.

Saturday, May 8th.—Drew provisions; marched at about 11 o'clock and encamped at Hauranack.<sup>19</sup>

Sunday, 9th.—Discharged four wagons which we had taken from Wawasink; loaded our provisions on board the canoes, sent them down the Delaware. At 8 o'clock in the morning began our march; marched to Esquire Vancamp's;<sup>20</sup> the weather very hot, we rested ourselves and marched for Decker's Ferry<sup>21</sup> on Delaware, where we arrived at sundown and encamped.

Monday, 10th.—Laid still for refreshment and washing.

Tuesday, 11th.—Struck tents and marched at 7 in the morning; got over the ferry, proceeded on our march; rested

<sup>16</sup> WEST BROOKVILLE, formerly called Bashusville, near the southern line of town of Mamakating in Sullivan County. So called from a squaw named Bashe, who lived on the bank of the creek. The first house built was of stone and used as a fort.

<sup>17</sup> MAHACKAMACK or Neversink River, the crossing appears to have been near Cuddebackville in the town of Deer Park.

<sup>18</sup> DEWITT—A brother of Mrs. James Clinton, the mother of DeWitt Clinton; where he is said to have been born, March 2, 1769, while Mrs. Clinton was on a visit with her brother. General James Clinton in 1763 raised and commanded a corps of two hundred men, called the Guards of the Frontier. This position called Fort De Witt was one of the posts occupied. Other accounts say he was born at the homestead of the Clinton family at Little Britain.

<sup>19</sup> NOW PORT JERVIS, formerly called MOHOCKAMACK FORK, at the junction of the Neversink and Delaware Rivers. The route taken appears to have been over the "old mine road" as it was called, constructed by the early Dutch settlers of Esopus to reach a copper mine in Walpack Township, Warren Co., N. J. It follows the Mamakating Valley, the first north of the Shawangunk mountains, and continues in that of the Mahackamack branch of the Delaware river, and penetrates the Minninks east of that river. The mine was about three miles north-west from Nicholas Depew's house.

<sup>20</sup> JOHN ADAMS, while attending Congress during its session at Philadelphia, as late as 1800, passed over this same "Mine Road" as the most eligible route from Boston to that city. He was accustomed to lodge at Squire Van Campen's in the Jersey Minninks.

<sup>21</sup> DECKER'S FERRY at Flatbrookville, about thirteen miles from Fort Penn at Stroudeburg.

for refreshments, at Smithfield at or near Depew's,<sup>22</sup> at 5 P. M.; marched for Fort Penn where we arrived at dusk of the evening.

May 12th and 13th.—Laid still at Fort Penn<sup>23</sup> on account of rainy weather.

Friday, May 14th, 1779.—The weather clear, we received orders to march at 1 o'clock in the afternoon. Struck tents, marched for Learn's;<sup>24</sup> marched about five miles and encamped in the wood.

Saturday, 15th.—About 7 in the morning struck tents and marched to Learn's; pitched camp, and proceeded with a party to mend the road to Wyoming.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> SAMUEL DEPEW's, in the town of Smithfield, Monroe Co., Pa., on the west side of the Delaware, three miles above the Water Gap, where he settled prior to 1730. He was one of the Walloons who came to New York about 1697. Rev. H. M. Muhlenberg, who lodged at his house in 1730, states he had been Justice of the Peace, was a prominent man in Smithfield, and at that time advanced in life. The river is fordable at the head of Depew's Island, a little above the house. The old homestead is still in the Depew family; Nicholas, one of Samuel's sons, is well known in provincial history between 1730 and 1770. On the Pennsylvania side of the river on Depew's land, stood the *Smithfield* or old *Shawnee* church, removed about 1854.

<sup>23</sup> Ft. Penn, at Stroudsburg, Monroe County, Pa., built in 1763, on the site previously occupied by Ft. Hamilton, built in 1735.

<sup>24</sup> LARNED's log tavern, north-west of Stroudsburg, twenty-eight miles from Easton. The main army encamped here June 19th, at camp called Pocono Point. This was the last house on the road between Easton and Wyoming. On the 3d of July, 1781, Mr. Larned was shot and scalped near his house, as also was his son George. Another son, John, shot one of the Indians who was left on the spot where he fell. The Indians carried off George Larned's wife, and an infant four months old, but not wishing to be encumbered with the child, dashed out its brains.

<sup>25</sup> The 3d New York Regiment, Col. Van Cortlandt, and Col. Spencer's N. J. Regiment were ordered to precede the army and construct a road over the mountains to Wyoming. They followed the well known Indian trails mainly, one of which led from Easton by way of the Wind Gap, directly north, along the high lands between the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers, to New York State line near Oghquaga; the other leaving Fort Penn at Stroudsburg, passed through the townships of Pocono, Tunkhanna, Tobyhanna, Buck, Bear Creek, to Wyoming. Much of this road is still in use and is known as the "old Sullivan road." At Easton Gen. Sullivan published the following order:

HEAD-QUARTERS, EASTON, May 31, 1779.

\* \* \* The commander-in-chief returns his most sincere thanks to Colonels Cortlandt and Spencer, and to the officers and soldiers under their command for their unparalleled exertions in clearing and repairing the road to Wyoming. He cannot help promising himself success in an expedition, in which he is to be honored with the command of troops who give such pleasing evidence of their zeal for the service, and mani-

Sunday, 16th.—Our camp remained, and were joined by Coll. Spencer's<sup>26</sup> regiment; we continued making the road. At night seven men deserted from our regiment.<sup>27</sup>

Monday, 17th.—Decamped from Learn's about 7 in the morning, and encamped at about 7 o'clock in the afternoon, just on the west side of a small creek called White Oak Run.<sup>28</sup>

Tuesday, 18th.—Our camp remained; we continued working on the road; I was ordered to remain in camp with the guard.

Wednesday, 19th.—Last night about 11 o'clock, an alarm happened by the firing of one of the sentinels, but soon found it to be false alarm.<sup>29</sup> The weather being wet, we remained in camp all day.

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fest so strong a desire to advance with expedition against the inhuman murderers of their friends and countrymen. \* \* \* \*

Order Book Lieu.-Col. GEORGE C. BARBER, of 3d N. J. Regt.,  
Adjutant Gen'l of the Western Army.

<sup>26</sup> COL. OLIVER SPENCER, Commanding the Independent regiment, 5th Continental of New Jersey.

<sup>27</sup> General Sullivan reached Wyoming with the main body of the army June 23d; the following appeared in orders on the 25th:

HEAD-QUARTERS, WYOMING, June 25, 1779.

\* \* \* At a general court martial held on the eighth instant, whereof Major Fish was president, Oliver Arnold of the 2nd New York regiment, was tried for desertion, found guilty, and sentenced to be shot to death; the General approves the sentence and orders it to be executed at the head of the regiment to-morrow afternoon at six o'clock. Edward Tyler of the same regiment tried by the same court for desertion, found guilty and sentenced to run the guantelope through Cortlandt's, Spencer's and Cilley's regiments, with a centinel at his breast to regulate his pace; the General approves the sentence and orders it executed to-morrow afternoon at five o'clock. John Stevens of the same regiment, tried for desertion, found guilty and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes; the General approves the sentence and orders it executed at the head of the regiment, to-morrow afternoon at six o'clock. \* \* \*

Order Book, Lieu.-COL. GEORGE C. BARBER,  
Adjutant Gen'l of the Western Army.

<sup>28</sup> Near the west line of Pocono Township, also called Rum bridge.

<sup>29</sup> There were three paths leading eastward from Wyoming; the southern, called the "warriors' path," by way of Fort Allen and along the Lehigh to the Delaware Water Gap at Easton; the northern, by way of the Lackawana at Capouse Meadows, through Cobb's Gap and the Lackawaxen, to the Delaware and Hudson; the middle one, along which this military road was constructed, led through the Wind Gap to Easton. The

Thursday, 20th.—Rainy weather with some thunder: we remained in camp.

Friday, 21st.—Foggy, rainy weather with thunder and lightning; remained in camp. This day Ensign Swartwout<sup>20</sup> arrived in camp from the State of New York, brought news that the Indians were lurking about Rochester and Wawasink; and the inhabitants chiefly moved off their families.

Saturday, 22nd.—The weather continued rainy. Remained in camp. At sunset the weather cleared off.

Sunday, 23d.—The morning fair and clear. Received orders to march. At 8 o'clock the General beat; struck tents, proceeded on our march till over a creek in the Great

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massacre of Wyoming in 1778 had filled the forests along this central trail with hundreds of helpless fugitives; some estimate the number about two thousand, mostly women and children; many sunk under the tomahawk, others died of excitement, fatigue, hunger and exposure; many were lost and perished in the woods, while hundreds were never seen or heard of after their precipitate flight. At this time small parties of Indians still hovered around Wyoming. They watched the passes, and occasionally exhibited extraordinary instances of courage and sudaicity. Major Powell, with two hundred men of a regiment that had suffered severely at the battle of Germantown, having been ordered to Wyoming, arrived at Bear Creek about ten miles from that point, on the 19th of April. Deeming themselves out of danger from a surprise by the Indians, officers and men arrayed themselves in their best apparel, burnished their arms and put everything in shape for a respectable appearance on entering the Valley. According to the fashion of the day the officers donned their ruffles, powdered their hair, and with enlivening strains of music, advanced toward their destination. The advance guard reported having seen some deer, and Captain Davis, Lieutenant Jones and others, started in pursuit; near the summit of the second mountain by the Laurel Run, and about four miles from the fort, a fire was opened upon them by the Indians in ambush. Davis, Jones, Corporal Butler and three soldiers were killed and scalped. Chaplain Rogers says: "Scalped, tomahawked and speared by the savages, fifteen or twenty in number; two boards are fixed at the spot where Davis and Jones fell, with their names on each. "Jones's being besmeared with his own blood. In passing this melancholy vale, an "unusual gloom appeared on the countenances of both officers and men without distinction, and from the eyes of many, as by a sudden impulse, drops the sympathizing tear. "Colonel Proctor, out of respect to the deceased, ordered the music to play the tune of "Rowlin Castle, the soft and moving notes of which, together with what so forcibly "struck the eye, tended greatly to fill our breasts with pity, and to renew our grief for "our worthy departed friends and brethren." The bodies of the two officers were exhumed a few weeks after this and re-interred at Wilkesbarre, with military and masonic honors by the officers of Sullivan's army.

<sup>20</sup> *Barnardus Swartwout*, an Ensign in first company of Col. Van Cortlandt's regiment.

Swamp<sup>31</sup> called Tackhanack, the road very bad, the baggage could not come up; went back and mended the road and encamped where the baggage was. In the evening, Sergeant Jonas Brown<sup>32</sup> with five men, was sent off to Wyoming with letters from General Sullivan to General Hand.<sup>33</sup>

Monday, 24th.—About 9 o'clock in the morning struck camp, marched across the Tackhanack<sup>34</sup> and encamped on a high, about half a mile from the creek, but continued making the road which was very bad about that place.

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<sup>31</sup> "Monday, June 21, 1779.—This day we marched through the Great Swamp, and Bear Swamp. The Great Swamp, which is eleven or twelve miles through, contains what is called on our maps "shades of death," by reason of its darkness; both swamps contain trees of amazing height, viz., hemlock, birch, pine, sugar maple, ash, locust, etc. The roads in some places are tolerable, but in other places exceeding bad, by reason of which, and a long though necessary march, three of our wagons and the carriages of two field pieces were broken down. This day we proceeded twenty miles and encamped late in the evening at a spot which the commander named Camp Fatigue. The troops were tired and hungry. The road through the Swamps is entirely new, being fitted for the passage of our wagons by Colonels Cortlandt and Spencer at the instance of the commander-in-chief; the way to Wyoming, being before only a blind, narrow path. The new road does its projectors great credit, and must in a future day be of essential service to the inhabitants of Wyoming and Easton. In the Great Swamp is Locust Hill, where we discovered evident marks of a destroyed Indian village. Tobyhanna and Middle creeks empty into the Tunkhanunk; the Tunkhanunk empties into the head branch of the Lehigh, which at Easton, empties into the Delaware. The Moosick mountain, through a gap of which we passed in the Great Swamp, is the dividing ridge which separates the Delaware from the Susquehanna."—[*Rev. William Rogers' Journal.*]

<sup>32</sup> Sergeant Jonas Brown, of Captain Charles Graham's Co., Second New York, returned as dead by Lieut. Conolly, in 1785, drew lot twenty-three, of the military tract in Homer, containing six hundred acres.

<sup>33</sup> BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD HAND, the youngest brigadier of the expedition. Born in Ireland the last day of 1744, was an ensign in the British army, served two years with his regiment in America, then resigned and settled in Pennsylvania. At the beginning of the Revolution he entered the continental service as Lieutenant-Colonel, was made Colonel of a rifle corps in 1776, was in the battles of Long Island and Trenton, and in the summer of 1777 was in command at Pittsburg. Washington placed great confidence in his judgment and consulted him freely as to the feasibility of this campaign. In 1780 he succeeded Scammel as Adjutant General of the army and held the position until the close of the war. He was a lover of fine horses and an excellent horseman. He died in Lancaster, Pa., Sept. 3, 1802.

<sup>34</sup> TUNKHANNA, from *Tankhanne*, i. e., the small stream, is a tributary of the Tobyhanna, which it enters at the west corner of Tunkhanna township. The smallest of two confluents or sources of a river is always called *Tankhanne* by the Delawares.



Tuesday, 25th.—Left our camp standing, and continued making the road; built a bridge and causeway at Tobehanna<sup>25</sup> of one hundred and fifteen paces in length. The creek is considerable large and abounds with trout.<sup>26</sup> Some good land along the creek; the road very difficult to make.

Wednesday, 26th.—Laid still in camp on purpose to refresh the men, and washing. Sergeant Brown returned from Wyoming.

Thursday, 27th.—Went out to work.

Friday, 28th.—Finished the bridge across the Tobehannah and returned to camp.

Saturday, 29th.—John Curry and Michael Sellers were tried at the drum-head, for stealing rum from the commissary,<sup>27</sup> found guilty, and sentenced to receive, Curry seventy-five lashes, and Sellers fifty, which was directly put in execution. Our camp remained; we continued work on the road. After we returned from fatigue, Gen. Sullivan and Col. Hoopes<sup>28</sup> arrived in our camp.

Sunday, 30th.—In the morning Gen. Sullivan and Col. Hoopes returned to Easton. At 7 o'clock in the morning struck tents, the regiment marched to Locust Hill and en-

<sup>25</sup> TOBYHANNA, corrupted from *Topi-hanne*, signifying *alder stream*, i. e., a stream whose banks are fringed with alders; is a tributary of the Lehigh, which it enters from the south-east at Stoddartsville.

<sup>26</sup> The camp of the two regiments on White Oak Run, or Rum Bridge as called in some journals, was the same place where the main army encamped June, 19th, and "called CHOWDER CAMP from the commander-in-chief dining this day on chowder made of trout."

<sup>27</sup> "One quart of whiskey to be issued this evening to each officer, and a half pint to each non-commissioned officer and soldier on the detachment command by General Poor. \* \* \* The officers are to see respectively *that water be immediately mixed with the soldier's whiskey.*" General orders, Aug. 15, at Tioga.

<sup>28</sup> Major Adam Hoopes, third A. D. C. to General Sullivan. He was in the army throughout the Revolution, and at one period belonged to the staff of Washington. He was connected with the earliest surveys of Western New York. In 1804, he in company with Ebenezer F. Norton, purchased most of the township of Olean and laid out the village of Hamilton, the original name of present village of Olean. He was a bachelor and died in Westchester, Pa.

camped there;<sup>39</sup> myself was ordered to remain with the Commissary stores which could not move with the baggage for want of teams.

Monday, 31st.—The Coll. sent the wagons back to fetch the stores. We loaded them on the wagons and proceeded to Camp and arrived there at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. The troops worked on the road.

Tuesday, June 1st.—Worked on the road. The Camp remained on Locust Hill.

Wednesday, June 2d.—Lt. Weissenfels<sup>40</sup> of our regiment was sent to Wyoming as an escort to guard a number of pack horses. The troops continued working the road. I was ordered on court martial, of which Captain Graham was President.

Thursday, June 3d.—The troops did not work for want of provision.

Friday, June 4th.—The camp remained on Locust Hill. Captain Graham, myself, and two other officers were ordered to inspect pork which was chiefly Condemned on account of its being Spoiled.<sup>41</sup> On the 3d of June, John Ten Eyck,

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<sup>39</sup> Dr. Jabez Campfield of Col. Spencer's Regiment, joined his regiment while they were in camp at Tunkhanna on the 26th of May, where he says they continued until the 30th, "when we marched to Locust Hill. All this way the land very indifferent and rough, the timber mostly pitch pine and hemlock, some white pine, also birch, mirtle, and some beach, elm and spruce. This hill is covered with small locust trees. While the detachment remained at Locust Hill, the First New Hampshire Regiment joined us, but at the same time a detachment under Colonel Smith were sent to Wyoming so that we gained very little by the Hampshire men coming up."

William Barton's Journal under date of June 11th says: \* \* \* "Locust Hill so called, on account of being entirely timbered with it for twenty-three miles. We all proceeded on our journey again until we fell in with a detachment composed of several regiments which had been cutting a road through from Larnard's to Wyoming, as there never was any before only an old Indian path."

<sup>40</sup> Lieutenant Charles F. Weissenfels of 3d company, 2nd regiment, served during the war.

<sup>41</sup> On the 21st of July, General Sullivan writes to Congress from Easton, after complaining of the delays of the quarter-master and commissary departments in forwarding supplies, he speaks as follows in regard to the quality: \* \* \* "My duty to the public, and regard to my own reputation, compel me to state the reasons why this army has

soldier in Captain French's company of light infantry was drowned in the Lehi by accident.

Saturday, 5th.—The regiment was ordered on fatigue with three days provisions, that night lay out in the woods.

Sunday 6th.—I was relieved by Lt. Fairlie<sup>42</sup> and went to Camp, this day we worked through the great Swamp.

Monday, 7th June.—At about 8 in the morning decamped from Locust Hill, crossed the Lehi and encamped on the side of a Swamp called the Shades of Death,<sup>43</sup> about six miles from Locust Hill.

Tuesday, 8th June.—About 2 o'clock in the afternoon, struck our tents, marched through the Shades of Death, and encamped at night about one mile from the Shades.

Wednesday, 9th.—The Camp remained.

Thursday 10th.—The Camp remained. The troops worked on the road.

Friday, 11th.—The regiment decamped and marched within seven miles from Weyoming. Capt. Wright and I remained behind to guard the Commissary Stores.

Saturday, 12th.—The guard and Commissary Stores came up to Camp.

Sunday, 13th.—Laid still.

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been so long delayed here, without advancing into the enemy's country. \* \* \* The inspector is now on the ground, by order of the Board of War, inspecting the provisions: and his regard to the truth must oblige him on his return to report that, of the salted meat on hand, there is not a single pound fit to be eaten, even at this day, though every measure has been taken to preserve it that possibly could be devised." \* \* \* About one hundred and fifty cattle sent to Sunbury were left there, being too poor to walk, and many of them unable to stand."

<sup>42</sup> LIEUT. JAMES FAIRLIE, of Capt. Fowler's company, 2nd regiment, after the consolidation of the five New York regiments in 1780. He drew military lots Nos. seventy-three Cato, and sixty-five Brutus.

<sup>43</sup> SHADES OF DEATH, supposed by many to have derived the name from the sufferings of those who escaped from the massacre of Wyoming, but this is evidently an error, as the name was attached to the locality and appeared on the maps, long previous to 1778.

Monday, 14th.—At six o'clock the General beat, struck tents and marched to Weyoming<sup>44</sup> and arrived there at about 12, and pitched Camp.

June 15th and 16th.—Laid still.

Thursday, 17th.—Moved the camp about four miles up the River, to a place called Jacob's Plains.<sup>45</sup>

18th and 19th.—Laid still.

Sunday, June 20th.—I was ordered to go down the River Sisquehannah with a party in boats<sup>46</sup> under the command of

<sup>44</sup> WYOMING.

"On Susquehanna's side, fair Wyoming!  
Delightful Wyoming!"—CAMPBELL.

The Delaware name given to a valley on the Susquehanna river, of three to four miles in width, by about sixteen in length, extending from the mountain range above the Lackawana, where the river wends its way through a gorge a thousand feet deep, south-westerly to where the river again finds its way through a range equally lofty and precipitous. This was the SCHAHEMTOA or SCHAHEM-DOWANE of the Iroquois, signifying *great plains*, as does also the Delaware name of Wyoming. From its earliest known history, this valley has been a favorite place of Indian residence, and was the probable seat of an Iroquois tribe, called SCHAHEMTOAR-ROKONS by Brebeuf in 1635, whom he describes as allies of the Hurons, and speaking their language. In 1614, three Dutchmen in the employ of the Directors of New Netherland, accompanied a party of Mahican Indians from near Fort Orange, in a war expedition against the CARANTOUANNAIS, a powerful Iroquois tribe, whose main village containing more than eight hundred warriors, was located on the so-called "Spanish Hill" near Waverly, N. Y. These Dutchmen were captured by the Carantonannais, and were the first white men these Indians had ever seen; believing them to be French, who were allies of their friends the Hurons, they treated them kindly, and conducted them down the Susquehanna to this point, and thence by way of the Lehigh river, to the Delaware, where they were ransomed by Capt. Hendricksen, "giving for them kitties, beads and merchandize." In the map made by the Captain from information furnished by these Dutchmen, he indicated four towns on the west side of the river, at this point, and designated the tribe as MINQUAS, this being the general name applied by the Dutch to all the Iroquois tribes south of the Five Nations, and west of New Netherland, several of which are known to have been in existence at that early date, but which appear to have been entirely overlooked by the scholars of the country.

<sup>45</sup> JACOB'S PLAINS.—A plateau on the east side of the river, above present Wilkes-barre in the town of Plains. Abraham's Plains are on the west side of the river. "June 17.—Decamped at 10 o'clock. The three regiments marched up to Jacob's Plains, encamped near the bank of the river on the east shore, about four miles above the garrison."—*Nathaniel Webb's Journal*.

<sup>46</sup> "July 20.—Three hundred boats arrived with provisions from Sunbury.

July 21.—Eight hundred head of cattle, five hundred horses, five hundred wagons arrived.

July 24.—Two hundred boats arrived, with stores, at which time thirty cannon were fired from the park."—*Nathaniel Webb's Journal*.

Captain Graham. Left Wyoming about 7 o'clock in the morning and arrived with the boats at Fort Jenkins<sup>47</sup> at sunset and stayed that night.

Monday, 21st.—Left Fort Jenkins in the morning, proceeded down the River and arrived at Northumberland town,<sup>48</sup> dined there, and proceeded to Sunbury and arrived there at 7 o'clock at night.

Tuesday, 22nd.—Laid still at Sunbury and loaded the boats with flour and beef.

Wednesday, 23d.—At 9 o'clock in the morning left Sunbury, proceeded up the River about eight miles.

Thursday, 24th.—Proceeded up the River till night and lodged on board the boat. In the night lost my hat.

Friday, 25th.—Proceeded up the River as far as Fort Jenkins and lodged there.<sup>49</sup>

Saturday, 26th.—Left Fort Jenkins and arrived at the falls.<sup>50</sup> Got half the boats up the falls, which were drawn up by ropes.

<sup>47</sup> FORT JENKINS,—near Centreville, Columbia County, half way between Wyoming and Sunbury, built in 1777. There was another Fort Jenkins on the west side of the river a mile above Fort Wintermoot, built in 1776 under the supervision of the Jenkins and Harding families. This was captured and destroyed in 1778 in the Wyoming massacre.

<sup>48</sup> NORTHUMBERLAND,—at the junction of the west, and main branches of the Susquehanna, above Sunbury, sixty-five miles from Wilkesbarre.

<sup>49</sup> During the absence of Lieut. Hardenberg down the river a party visited the battleground. "The place where the battle was fought may with propriety be called 'a place of skulls,' as the bodies of the slain were not buried, their bones were scattered in every direction all around; a great number of which for a few days past having been picked up, were decently interred by our people. We passed a grave where seventy-five skeletons were buried; also a spot where fourteen wretched creatures, who, having surrendered upon being promised mercy, were nevertheless made immediately to sit down in a ring, and after the savages had worked themselves up to the extreme of fury in their usual manner, by dancing, singing, halloaing, &c., they proceeded deliberately to tomahawk the poor fellows one after another. Fifteen surrendered and composed the ring; upon the Indians beginning their work of cruelty, one of them providentially escaped, who reported the matter to Col. Butler, who upon his return to Wyoming, went to the spot and found the bones of the fourteen lying as human bodies in an exact circle."—*Rev. William Rogers' Journal.*

<sup>50</sup> NESCOPEC FALLS—at present Nescopec in County of Luzerne.

Sunday, 27th.—Got up the rest of the boats, and proceeded up the River and halted along shore over night. Coll. Ogden's regiment from Jersey was sent down as a guard to us from Weyoming.

Monday, 28th.—At Revelle beat proceeded up the River to the upper falls. Got all the boats up, (one of which over-set in going up) and arrived at Shawny flats about 4 miles from Weyoming.

Tuesday, 29th.—Left Shawny flats in the morning and arrived at Weyoming<sup>51</sup> about 7 o'clock in the morning, unloaded the boats and went up to camp in the afternoon to Jacob's Plains.

Wednesday, 30th June.—The regiment was mustered in camp at Jacob's Plains. While I was out on my voyage down the river, Gen. Sullivan arrived at Weyoming with troops to be employed on the expedition.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> "WYOMING is situated on the east side of the east branch of the Susquehanna, the town consisting of about seventy houses, chiefly log buildings; besides these buildings there are sundry larger ones which were erected by the army for the purpose of receiving stores, &c., a large bake and smoke houses. There is likewise a small fort erected in the town, with a strong abbata around it, and a small redoubt to shelter the inhabitants in case of an alarm. This fort is garrisoned by 100 men, draughted from the western army, and put under the command of Col. Zebulon Butler. I cannot omit taking notice of the poor inhabitants of the town; two thirds of them are widows and orphans, who, by the vile hands of the savages, have not only deprived them of tender husbands, some indulgent parents, and others of affectionate friends and acquaintances, besides robbed and plundered of all their furniture and clothing. In short, they are left totally dependent on the public, and are become absolute objects of charity."—*Hubley's Journal*.

<sup>52</sup> The army when concentrated at Wyoming was organized as follows :

New Jersey Brigade, Brig. Gen'l William Maxwell com'd.

1st N. J., Col. Matthias Ogden.

2d, " " Israel Shreve.

3d, " " Elias Dayton.

5th, " " Oliver Spencer's Independent Regiment, also fragments of Forsman's and Sheldon's regiments merged into Spencer's.

New Hampshire Brigade—Brig. Gen'l Enoch Poor, com'd.

1st N. H., Col. Joseph Cilley.

2d " Lieut. Col. George Reid.

3d " " " Henry Dearborn.

2d N. Y., Col. Philip Van Cortlandt.

Thursday, July 1.—Laid still.

Friday, July 2d; Saturday, July 3d.—Remained at Jacob's Plains.

Sunday, July ye 4th.—Decamped from Jacob's Plains, crossed the river Sisquehannah and encamped on the west side the River, near forty fort<sup>53</sup> on a fine plain called Abraham's Plains.

Monday, 5th July.—Went out on a scouting party in order to hunt. Went up the River as far as Laghawanny Creek and returned at sunset. Met with no success.

During our stay at Weyoming we had nothing to do but to keep guard, and disciplining our troops; only a few that were employed in boating to carry provisions<sup>54</sup> up the River from Sunbury to Weyoming.

(From July 5th to July 31st no entry was made in the Journal).

Saturday, the 31st of July.—About 3 o'clock in the afternoon we left Weyoming on our expedition. Our baggage being carried on pack horses, the provisions and artillery in boats, we marched as far as Lackawannick,<sup>55</sup> ten miles from Weyoming, and encamped.<sup>56</sup>

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Brigade of Light Troops, Gen'l Edward Hand, com'd.

11th Pa., Lieut. Col. Adam Hubley.

German Regiment, Maj. Daniel Burkhardt.

Independent Wyoming Company, Capt. Simon Spalding.

Wyoming Militia, Capt. John Franklin.

Schott's Rifle Corps, under Capt. Selin.

<sup>53</sup> FORTY FORT—On the right bank of the Susquehanna between Pittston and Wilkesbarre, built in 1770 by the company of emigrants from Connecticut, forty in number.

<sup>54</sup> GEN. HAND, and other officers were engaged for six weeks in collecting supplies, which General Sullivan expected would be in Wyoming on his arrival. Four hundred and fifty boatmen were enlisted and large parties of soldiers were detailed for this service.

<sup>55</sup> LACKAWANNA RIVER, flowing into the Susquehanna from the north-east, called by the Delawares, *Lechaw-Hanneck*, signifying the forks of a river or stream, and by the Iroquois *Hazirok*; an Indian town called Adjouquay existed at an early date on the east side, on present site of Pittston.

<sup>56</sup> FALLING SPRINGS.—A short distance above Campbell's ledge, a beautiful cascade comes rushing down from the mountain called Falling Springs. It proceeds from sev-

Sunday, Aug. first.—At 1 o'clock in the afternoon struck our tents and marched 7 miles to a place called Quialutimack.<sup>57</sup> The road was very difficult, the baggage did not arrive till towards day.

Monday, August ye 2d.—Laid still at Quialutimack.

Tuesday, Aug. 3d.—At 7 o'clock in the morning struck our camp, loaded our baggage, proceeded on our march and encamped at night in the wood.

Wednesday, Aug. 4th.—At 7 o'clock in the morning the General beat, struck our tents, proceeded on our march and encamped at night at Venderlips<sup>58</sup> Plantation. This day's march was very fatiguing. Our regiment was on the Rear Guard, the road very mountainous and difficult. We had the care of all the pack horses and cattle, which was very troublesome.

Thursday, Aug. 5th.—About 10 o'clock decamped, proceeded on our march and arrived at Wyalusing<sup>59</sup> and encamped there.

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eral never-failing springs on the summit. Hubley says, "to attempt a description of it would be almost presumption. Let this short account thereof suffice. The first or upper fall thereof is nearly ninety feet perpendicular, pouring from a solid rock, ushering forth a most beautiful echo, and is received by a cleft of rocks, considerably more projected than the former, from whence it rolls gradually and falls into the Susquehanna."

<sup>57</sup> **QUIALUTIMACK**, seven miles from Lackawanna, signifying "we came unawares upon them." A place between the steep mountain and the river, said to have been the place of an Indian battle. The camp was on a "spot of ground situated on the river open and clear, containing about twelve hundred acres, soil very rich, timber fine, grass in abundance, and contains several springs."—*Hubley's Journal*.

<sup>58</sup> **VAN DER LIFFE'S**.—Now Black Walnut in the town of Meshoppen, Wyoming County. So called from a tory of that name, who was the first settler, above the Lackawanna, who previous to this time had abandoned the valley, and afterward died in Canada. During this day's march the army passed over Indian Hill, where Col. Hartley had a battle with the Indians the previous year.

<sup>59</sup> **WYALUSING**. At present Wyalusing in Bradford County.—"Passing up the river we came to a place called by the Indians Gohontoto. Here they tell us was in early times an Indian town, traces of which are still noticeable, e. g., corn pits, &c., inhabited by a distinct nation (neither Aquinoschioni, i. e., Iroquois, nor Delawares) who spoke a peculiar language and were called ТНОТІТАСНІЕ; against these the Five Nations warred, and rooted them out. The Cayugas for a time held a number of them, but the nation and their language are now exterminated and extinct. This war, said the Indian,



Friday, Aug. 6th.—Laid still at Wyalusing for refreshment.

Saturday, Aug. 7th.—Laid still on account of rainy weather.

Sunday, August 8th.<sup>60</sup>—At six o'clock in the morning struck camp, moved from Wyalusing and encamped at evening at a place called Standing Stone.<sup>61</sup>

Monday, Aug. 9th.—At six o'clock in the morning struck our tents, proceeded on our march and arrived at Sheshehung flats<sup>62</sup> and encamped there.

Tuesday, Aug. 10th.—Laid still at the Flats.

Wednesday, Aug. 11th.—At 6 o'clock in the morning struck tent, marched at 7 o'clock for Tyuga.<sup>63</sup> Our regiment

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fell in the time when the Indians fought in battle with *bows and arrows* before they had guns and rifles."—*Cannmerhoff & Zeisberger's Journal*, 1750. This was also the seat of the Moravian mission of Friedensstuten, established in 1763, abandoned in 1772. This was about a mile below Wyalusing Creek, on the farms now occupied by G. H. Wells and J. B. Stafford. Rogers devotes several pages to a description of this town.

<sup>60</sup> NEWTYCHANNING.—This day Col. Proctor destroyed the first Indian town, named Newtychanning, containing about twenty houses, located on the west side of the Susquehanna, on the north side of Sugar Creek near North Towanda. Sullivan says it contained twenty-two houses; Canfield, that it was built the preceding year and contained from fifteen to twenty houses. This was near the site of Oscalui, of a previous date, and the same site called Ogelage, on Captain Hendricksen's map of 1616, and was then one of the towns of the Carantouannais, an Iroquois tribe destroyed or driven out by the Five Nations previous to 1650.

<sup>61</sup> STANDING STONE.—A large and long rock, on the west side of the river, said to have been detached from its bed on the mountain and taking a downward course, displacing all obstacles, took a final leap from the top of the precipice, and landed in a vertical position in the water near the shore, and remains a standing stone. The main army encamped directly opposite this, on Standing Stone flats; Hand's brigade on Wysox creek three miles above.

<sup>62</sup> SHESHEQUIN FLATS.—On site of present Sheshequin in Bradford County, on the opposite side of the river on site of present Ulster, was the Indian village of Sheshequin, six miles below Tioga. Cash's creek divided the town into two parts, the north side being heathen, those on the south Moravian Christians. About 1772 the latter removed six miles north and founded a new town, afterward known as Queen Esther's Town. Sheshequin was destroyed by Col. Hartley in 1778.

<sup>63</sup> TIOGA, the name given by the Iroquois to the wedge of land lying between the Chemung river and north branch of the Susquehanna; from *Tyaogen*, an interval, or anything between two other things [Bruyas, Agniers Racines]. *Teihogen*, the forks of a river (Gallatin's vocabulary 387). This has from time immemorial been one of the most important strategical points of the country of the Five Nations. Zeisberger passed

and the 2d New Jersey regiment was ordered to cross the River at our encampment and proceed up the River on the opposite side, to take possession of the ground at Tyuga to cover the fording place for the army and horses to cross the River, arrived at Tyuga about 11 o'clock in the morning.<sup>64</sup> At night Gen. Sullivan sent off a small scout<sup>65</sup> to discover Shemung<sup>66</sup> (of one Captain and seven men,) which lay about twelve miles up the Tiyuga branch.

Aug. 12.—The scout returned with news that the enemy seemed to be in great confusion and seemed to be moving

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through here in 1730 and says that "at Tioga or *the gate*, Six Nations Indians were stationed for the purpose of ascertaining the character of all persons who crossed over into their country, and that whoever entered their territory by any other way than through the gate, or by way of the Mohawk, was suspected by them of evil purpose and treated as a spy or enemy." An Indian town of TIOGA near the point, destroyed by Col. Hartley in 1778.

The earliest known account of the place is found in Champlain, who sent out one of his interpreters, named Stephen Brulé, in 1615, to arrange with the Carantouannais for a force of five hundred warriors, to co-operate with him in an attack on the Onondaga stronghold, then located on the town of Fenner, Madison Co., N. Y. Brulé with a small party of Hurons passed through the country of the Five Nations, to the great town of Carantouan, containing more than eight hundred warriors, then located on the so-called Spanish Hill near Waverly. Brulé returned to Carantouan after the expedition, and the next year, 1616, went down the Susquehanna to the sea "where he found many nations that are powerful and warlike."

The three Dutchmen mentioned in note 44 passed down the Susquehanna branch and were probably the first white men who ever saw that river; Brulé, the first that ever saw the Chemung.

<sup>64</sup> BREAK-NECK HILL.—The army passed this day Break-Neck Hill, nearly opposite North Towanda. "This mountain derives its name from the great height of the difficult and narrow passage not more than a foot wide, and remarkable precipice which is immediately perpendicular, and not less than one hundred and eighty feet deep. One mis-step must inevitably carry you from top to bottom without the least hope or chance of recovery."—*Hudley's Journal*.

"This day marched on the side of a mountain about three hundred feet from the bottom in a narrow path, where if we were to step one foot to our left we would be gone, and on our right the mountain was about four hundred feet high. N. B.—Three cows fell down and broke every bone in their bodies."—*Shule's Journal*.

<sup>65</sup> Capt. Cummings of the 3d N. J., Lieut. Jenkins, Capt. Franklin and five others.

<sup>66</sup> CHEMUNG.—An Indian town of fifty or sixty houses, occupied in 1779, located on the left bank of the Chemung river, three miles above the present village of Chemung, in Chemung County, destroyed by Gen. Sullivan Aug. 13th, 1779.

OLD CHEMUNG.—An Indian town partially abandoned in 1779, located on the left bank of the Chemung river, half a mile above the present village of Chemung, in Chemung County. A few houses burned Aug. 13th, 1779.

off. The Gen'l left a guard at Tiyuga sufficient to guard the camp and marched with the rest of the army under cover of the night for Shemung, marched all night, the weather very dark, and nothing but an Indian path through the wood made it difficult.<sup>67</sup>

Friday, Aug. 13th.—About six o'clock in the morning we arrived at Shemung and found the enemy had left the town. On our approach we burnt the town, destroyed the corn, &c., and returned to Tiyuga. A small party of the Indians who had concealed themselves in the wood, fired on a small party of Gen'l Hand's Brigade, killed six men and wounded two without loss on their side.<sup>68</sup> A party of Gen'l Poor's Brigade was destroying corn, were fired upon by the enemy, killed one and wounded one.

Saturday, Aug. 14th.—Laid at Tiyuga waiting for the arrival of Gen'l Clinton's Brigade, who came down the Susquehanna from the Mohawk River. A large detachment from the army was ordered up to join him.<sup>69</sup> The remainder of

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<sup>67</sup> This night's march was very tedious. The path followed the north bank of the Chemung, passing the first narrows, near present Waverly, and the second along the steep hill-sides and precipices west of present Chemung. At these points there was scarcely room for two to walk abreast, and a single mis-step would insure a landing on the rocks a hundred feet below. It was daylight when the troops reached the second narrows, but a dense fog prevailed, under the cover of which they advanced, and found the town abandoned.

<sup>68</sup> CHEMUNG AMBUSCADE.—On the failure to surprise the Indians in their village, General Hand pursued them up the river. About a mile above New Chemung, the trail passed obliquely over a hill known locally as the Hog Back, near the present residence of Doctor Everett, about two and a half miles below the monument on Sullivan Hill. Col. Hubley's regiment was in front, with Capt. Bush's company of forty men on the right acting as flankers, with the two Independent Companies in the rear. The head of the column appears to have been somewhat in advance of the flankers and when near the summit of the hill, received a fire from the enemy in ambush, at short range. Six were killed and nine wounded, among the latter Capt. Franklin, Capt. Carbury and Adjutant Huston, all of Col. Hubley's regiment. The enemy at once retreated to the thicket north of the hill.

<sup>69</sup> The following extract from the Journal of Major Norris, describes the march of this detachment up the north side of the Susquehanna from Tioga to Union in the town of Union, Broome County, where they met General Clinton's brigade. For the march of Clinton down the Susquehanna see Beatty's Journal :

the army were employed in building a garrison at Tiyuga.<sup>70</sup> On the 22nd day of Aug't we were joined by Gen'l Clinton's Brigade.

Monday, Aug't 23d.—Laid still. Capt. Kimble of Col. Cilley's Regiment, Gen'l Poor's Brigade, was killed in his tent by accident with a gun being snapped by a soldier.

"Aug. 15th.—Nine Hundred chosen men under the Command of Brig. Gen'l Poor are ordered to march Tomorrow morning up the Susquehanna, to meet Gen'l Clinton, who is on his march to join Sullivan's Army with his Brigade and is in some Danger of being Atacked by the Enemy before he can form a Junction with our Main Army; This afternoon a Small Party of Indian's fired on some of our Men who were without the Guards after some Horse's, and Cattle, Killd and Sculped one man and Wounded another, a Party was sent out in pursuit of them but Could not come up with them—

16th General Poor March'd with his Detachment at 10 o'Clock A. M. proceeded in two Collam's up the Suscuhannah River Over very rough Ground we Incampt Near the Ruins of an old town Call'd Macktowanuck the Land near the River is very Good—

17th We marchd Early this Morning Proceed 12 Miles to Owagea an Indian Town which was Deserted last Spring, after Planting, About the town is many Fruit Trees and many Plants, and Herbs, that are Common in our part of the Country; Hear is a Learge body of clear Intivale Covered with Grass, Our March to day Very Survear and Fatigueing Esspecially for the Left Collm (to which I belong) as we had to pass Several Steap Hills, and Morasses—

18th We March'd Early this Morning proceeded 14 miles to Choconant the Remains of a Learge Indian Town which has been likewise Abandoned this Summer, here we found Plenty of Cucumbar's, Squashes, Turnips &c. We found About twenty Houses, Which we burnt our Days March has been More Survear than Yesterday, as we had bad Hills and Swamps, one swamp of about two miles so Covered with Large Pine, Standing and lying which appeared as tho' Several Haricanes had been busy among since which a Tremendus Groath of Bushes About twenty feet high has sprung up so very thick as to Render the passing through them impracticable by any troops but such as Nothing but Death can stop—at sunset we were Very agreeably alarm'd by the Report of a Cannon up the River Which was supposed to be General Clintons Evening Gun—

19th Our Troops were put in Motion very early this Morning after Marching about one Mile Gen'l Poor Received an Exspres from General Clinton Informing him that the Latter expected to be hear by 10 o'Clock A. M. this day in Consequence of which we Return'd to our Old Incampment where General Clinton, Joined us at 10 o'Clock with two Thousand Men—including Officers, Boatman &c. he has two Hundred and Eight Beautoes with Provisions Ammunition &c after Mutal Congratulations and Complements the whole Proceeded down the River to Owagea and Incampt this Evening, the town of Owagea was made a burnfire of to Grace our Meating \* \* \* \* \*

<sup>70</sup> FORT SULLIVAN—near the centre of the present village of Athens, where the two rivers approach near each other. It was about one hundred yards square, with a strong block house at each angle, two opposite ones resting on the banks of the rivers, and the two others about midway between. The curtains were made by setting logs endwise in the ground, the whole being surrounded by a ditch, making a work of ample strength. Col. Shreve was left in command with a garrison of two hundred and fifty men beside the invalids, with two pieces of artillery.

Tuesday, 24th Aug't.—The disposition was made and everything got in readiness for marching. The army encamped that evening agreeable to the order of march,<sup>71</sup> myself being drafted on the right flank, which was commanded by Col. Dubois.

Wednesday, 25th.—Laid still not being able to get ready to march on account of our pack horses.

Thursday, 26th.—Struck tents at 1 o'clock and marched about 3 miles up the Tiyuga Branch and encamped.

Friday, Aug't 27.—At 8 o'clock in the morning the Gen'l beat, struck tents at 9 o'clock marched off and encamped that night about 3 miles below Shemung by a large corn-field.<sup>72</sup>

Saturday, Aug't 28th.—At 3 o'clock in the afternoon marched as far as Shemung and encamped.<sup>73</sup>

Sunday, 29th Aug't.—At 8 o'clock in the morning the signal for march was given. We marched about 4 miles when our Light corps fell in with the enemy on the opposite side of a defile with some slight works thrown up in their front. The light troops exchanged some shots with them and amused them whilst Gen's Clinton's and Poor's Brigades with the right flank were ordered to file off by the right and gain the enemy's rear, which to effect, we had to ascend a very steep hill which the enemy had possessed themselves of. Whilst we were gaining the rear, Col. Proc-

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<sup>71</sup> The order of march was arranged to form a hollow square, General Hand's Brigade in front; General Poor's on the right; General Maxwell's on the left; and General Clinton's in the rear. Within the square was Col. Proctor's artillery, and eight lines of led pack horses, and the beef cattle. On the right of General Poor was a flanking division, and flank guard, of two hundred and fifty men under Col. Dubois; and a like flanking division and guard, on the left of Maxwell, under command of Col. Ogden. A strong advance guard of light infantry covered the front.

<sup>72</sup> Encamped on the site of Old Chemung, burned Aug. 13th. See note 66.

<sup>73</sup> Encamped on the flats, near New Chemung, see note 66. The army passed a very difficult defile, known as the "Narrows" west of present Chemung; the artillery forded the river twice.

tor with the artillery kept up a brisk fire on their works. On our ascending the hill they began to attack us. Our men undauntedly pushed on and gained the hill. The enemy went off in confusion, left their dead on the ground.<sup>74</sup>—About sunset we encamped on the enemy's ground.<sup>75</sup> We had one major, one Capt. and one Lt. wounded. The Capt. and Lieut. died of their wounds, also a few men wounded.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Four towns were destroyed in the vicinity of the battle field, viz. :

1st. **NEWTOWN**, an Indian village of about twenty houses, occupied in 1779, located on the left bank of the Chemung river about five miles below Elmira, and a mile above the fortified position between Baldwin's creek and the river. It gave the name to the battle fought near it Aug. 29, 1779.

2d. A small village north east of the battle field of Newtown on both sides of Baldwin's creek, of twenty to thirty houses which had never been occupied, and were supposed to have been built for storing the crops grown in the vicinity. This was located at the point where Gen. Poor commenced the ascent of the hill; and was destroyed by Clinton's brigade.

3d. A small village near the angle in the works of the enemy on Baldwin's creek, the timbers of which were used by them in the construction of the fortifications. One house in front of their works was occupied by the enemy as a block house during the engagement.

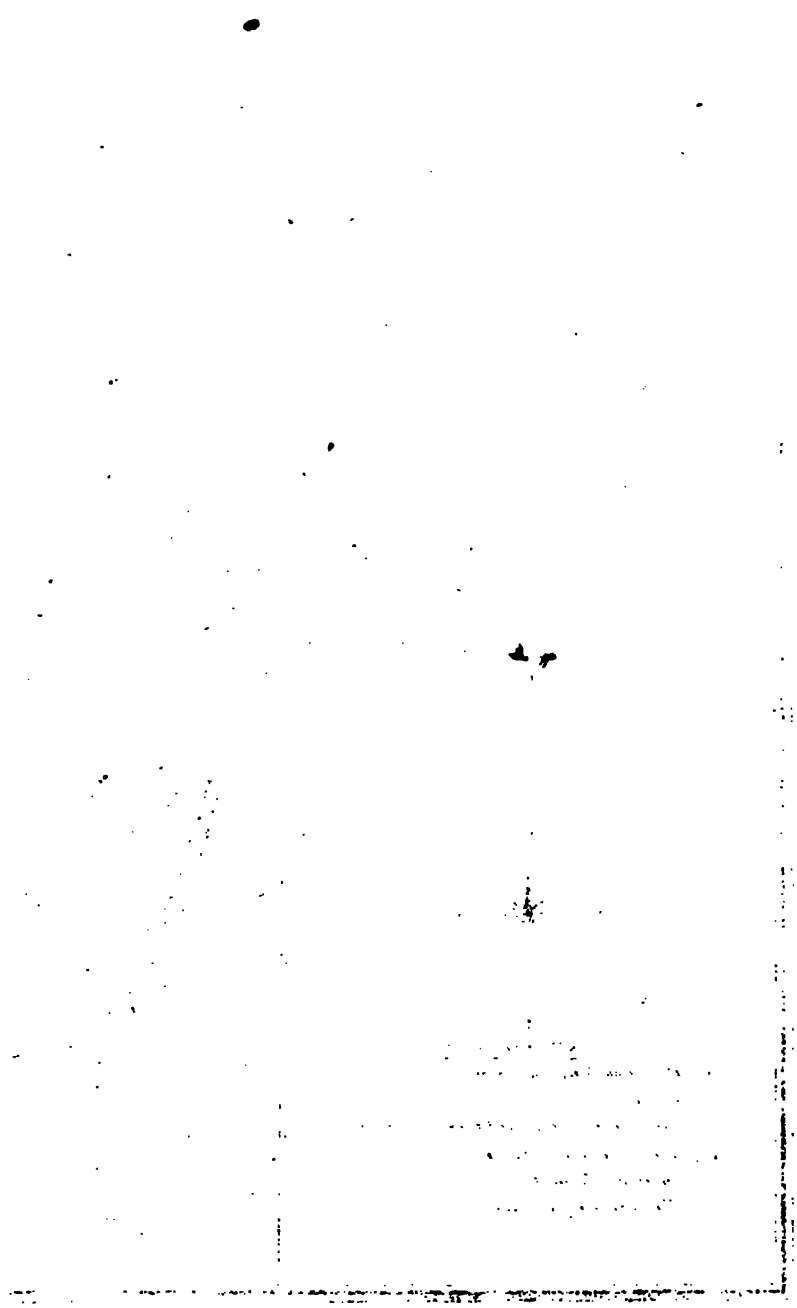
4th. "Monday, Aug. 30. \* \* \* Went up the river about two miles, then took up a long branch of the river (which runs near S. W.) one mile, burnt five houses and destroyed all the corn in our way."—*Beatty's Journal*.

<sup>75</sup> **THE BATTLE OF NEWTOWN** was fought on Sunday, Aug. 29, 1779, near the Indian village of the same name, on the left bank of the Chemung river six miles south east of Elmira. The enemy's force of British regulars, two battalions of Royal Greens, and Tories, were led by Colonel John Butler, with Captains Walter N. Butler and Macdonald as subordinates; the Indians by the great Mohawk Captain Thayendanagea, alias Joseph Brant, Butler being in chief command. The design of the enemy appears to have been primarily, an ambuscade. They had artfully concealed their works, and posted their forces in positions to attack simultaneously, both flanks, front, and rear; the position naturally strong, was admirably adapted to their purposes. From Elmira, extending south easterly for several miles, is a mountainous ridge, running parallel with the river, something over six hundred feet in height near the Indian village, but gradually melting away to the level of the plain where it terminates about a mile below; on this south eastern slope was the battle of Newtown. To the north and east of this ridge is a similar one, which also terminates near the battle field, and between them is a considerable stream, which, running nearly parallel with the river in its general course, enters the Chemung a mile and a quarter below. The river here sweeps around in a graceful curve, making a full semi-circle, enclosing several hundred acres of rich bottom lands, on which were the Indian cornfields; the Wellsburg north and south road dividing it into two nearly equal parts. Rising abruptly from this plain is a sharp, narrow ridge, known locally as the Hog Back, this extends from the river across the plain nearly to the creek,

Aug't 30.—Remained on the ground of yesterday. The greatest part of the army were employed in destroying corn which was in great abundance.

a distance of about a third of a mile. The crest of this ridge was occupied by the enemy in force, protected by rude log breast works and rifle pits, which extended to the eastern extremity, and from thence turning north, connected with the steep banks of the creek above. The lines to be defended were these two sides of a triangle, their right resting on the river, their left on the mountain, the path of the army passing between the two lines, along which was also the enemy's line of retreat. From the angle in the works a thin line extended to the mountain, on which was a body of the enemy and also another small body on the mountain to the east. The results at Chemung a few days previous, led the enemy to hope that a like blunder might be repeated, and that Wyoming and Minnisinks were to be re-enacted. Presuming that the army, after crossing the creek, would follow the Indian trail without discovering their works, they flattered themselves that an unexpected fire on the exposed flanks would create great confusion, which if augmented by simultaneous attacks in front and rear by the forces in that quarter, might result in a panic, and a possible stampede of the pack horses and cattle, which would be quite as disastrous as the defeat of the army. But three companies of Morgan's riflemen, the pride of Washington, were in the advance; these veterans of a hundred battles were in no way inferior to the enemy in Indian craft; the works and position of the enemy were discovered when afar off, and this ingenious device of drawing our forces into an ambushade was frustrated. The ambushade failing, the alternative was presented of forcing a direct attack in front, under great disadvantage, or of a flanking movement, over very difficult ground, where nearly the entire force of the enemy could be brought to bear on the attacking force at any point on interior lines, possibly in time to repulse one division of the army before the other could come to its relief. The attack in front was invited by repeated sorties of a body of about four hundred of the enemy, who would deliver their fire, and immediately retreat to their works. After three hours of skirmishing, deliberation, and reconnoitering, General Sullivan determined to divide his force, turn the enemy's left, and attack simultaneously in front and flank.

The artillery was posted on a rising ground, three hundred yards from the enemy, in position to enfilade the main line of their works, and sweep the ground in the rear, Gen. Hand was to support the artillery, the left flanking division to threaten the enemy's right, and Gen. Maxwell's brigade to be held in reserve. Gen. Poor's brigade of four regiments, the right flanking division, and the three companies of riflemen, were to make a circuit of about two miles and turn the enemy's left and attack in flank and rear, to be supported by General Clinton's brigade of four regiments following as a second line. One hour was allowed for this movement, at the expiration of which, the artillery was to open, to be followed by a general assault of the two divisions. Poor almost immediately after commencing his march, found himself involved in a thicket of underbrush, almost impenetrable, but after great difficulty reached the foot of the hill on which the enemy was posted, just at the moment the artillery fire commenced. Forming his line of battle with Lieut. Col. Reid's 2d N. H. on the extreme left, next to him Lieut. Col. Dearborn's 2d N. H., then Alden's 6th Mass., and Col. Cilley's 1st N. H. on the extreme right. To the right of the brigade was the right flanking division of two hundred and fifty men under Col. Dubois, the whole preceded by three companies of riflemen under Maj. Parr. General Clinton's brigade formed line of battle with Col. Gansevoort's 3d N. Y. on the left, next Dubois 5th N. Y., then Livingston's 4th N. Y., with Van Courtlandt's 2d N. Y. on the extreme right, following in the rear of the first line.







Tuesday, 31st Aug't.<sup>17</sup>—At 9 o'clock in the morning marched off; marched ten miles above Newtown and en-

Poor when about half way up the hill encountered the enemy, but not in sufficient force to materially check the advance of the flanking division, or the regiments on his right; on reaching the summit of the hill, these rapidly pushed forward to seize the defile near the river, a short distance above Newtown, which was the only avenue of escape for the enemy. Almost at the commencement of the cannonade, the main force of the enemy adroitly abandoned their works without being discovered, and precipitated themselves on Col. Reid's regiment in greatly superior numbers. They swarmed about him in a semicircle, and for a few moments made the forest ring with their exultant shouts, but for a few minutes only; for Col. Dearborn having reached the summit of the hill, and missing Col. Reid on his left, on his own responsibility, faced his regiment to the rear and moved to his assistance. At the same moment the two regiments on the left of Clinton's brigade by a left oblique movement, came up from the rear to Reid's support, and the enemy soon found themselves dangerously threatened. The conflict was short, sharp and decisive, and the war whoop soon gave place to the retreat halloo. Poor with the remainder of his brigade, followed by the two regiments on the right of Clinton, had pushed rapidly for the defile. In the meantime Hand had advanced in front, and the left flanking division under Col. Ogden had worked its way along the river on the enemy's flank, when, the enemy admirably commanded, and wisely discreet, sounded the signal for retreat just in time to escape. A British account says: "In this action Col. Butler and all his people was surrounded, and very near being taken prisoners. On the same day a few miles from this he attempted again to stop them, but in vain. The Colonel lost four rangers killed, two taken prisoners and seven wounded." Twelve Indians were found dead on the field, the number of wounded unknown. The enemy were pursued for two or three miles above Newtown by the light troops, where Salmon says they made another stand, which appears to be confirmed by the account above quoted, but no details are given, and the matter is not alluded to in Gen. Sullivan's official report. The loss in killed according to the Indian official account, found four days after, near Catharine's town is as follows: "Sept. 3d.—This day found a tree marked 1770, Thandagana, the English of which is Brant, 12 men marked on it with arrows pierced through them, signifying the number they had lost in the action of the 29th ultimo. A small tree was twisted round like a rope and bent down which signified that if we drove and distressed them, yet we would not conquer them."

<sup>16</sup> The loss of our army is variously given in different accounts of the action. Major Livermore (Journal Aug. 29) says that "but four or five" were killed and three officers and about "thirty others" were wounded. Lieut. Barton (Journal) that two or three of ours were killed and "thirty-four or five wounded." Gen. Sullivan, in a despatch written the next day after the fight, makes the entire loss *three* killed and thirty nine wounded.

<sup>17</sup> During the march this day two towns were burned, viz.:

MIDDLETOWN.—A small Indian town mentioned in several Journals as lying between Newtown and Kanawohalla, on the north side of the river, consisting of eight houses, destroyed Aug. 31 by the army while on the march.

KANAWOHALLA.—Signifying a *head on a pole*, located on the present site of Elmira, destroyed by Sullivan's army Aug. 31. In some Journals this town is called Newtown, and the one near the battle field Lower Newtown, but a majority designate it by its Indian name, which, according to Mr. Maxwell should be spelled Canawoola, as pronounced by Red Jacket, and who also gave the signification, and the legend connected with it.

Col. Dayton with the 3d N. J. regiment and a detachment of riflemen were detached

camped on a large pine plain, forming a square with our camp to secure our pack horses and cattle.

Wednesday, Sept. 1st.—The signal gun fired at 8 o'clock in the morning. We marched at half past nine, marched about 6 miles through a flat level road at the end of which we entered a dark pine swamp, which continued four miles with almost impassable hills and valleys and arrived at 11 o'clock at night at Catharine's town.<sup>1</sup>

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here and sent up the river in pursuit of the enemy, whom the advanced guard saw escaping in their canoes. He failed to overtake them, but found an Indian village at or near present Big Flats, which he destroyed. He encamped here for the night and rejoined the main army the next morning, by a march north-east through the valley, where the main body were encamped near present Horse Heads.

<sup>1</sup> CATHARINE'S TOWN—*She-o-gua-ga*.—An Indian village located on the high ground a little south of the present village of Havana. The town was on both sides of the inlet and about three miles from the head of the lake. This was the residence of the famous Catharine Montour, by many writers incorrectly confounded with Madame Montour, and by others with Queen Esther, of Wyoming notoriety.

MADAME MONTOUR, a noted personage in the Colonial history of Pennsylvania, resided at one time at the present site of Montoursville, in Pennsylvania, on the west branch of the Susquehanna, afterward on an island near Shamokin; and about 1749, when very aged and blind, removed to the vicinity of Lake Erie, where she probably died previous to 1752. She had several sons and one daughter, all distinguished characters in Pennsylvania annals.

QUEEN ESTHER, notorious as the "fiend of Wyoming," who followed in the train of the victorious army, ransacking the heaps of slain, and with arms covered with gore barbarously murdering the wounded who in vain supplicated for their lives." She was living at She-hequin six miles below Tioga point in 1772, and removed about that date six miles north, and founded a new town, afterward known as Queen Esther's town; this was afterward destroyed by Col. Hartley in 1778, when she probably removed to Chemung. She had a sister Mary, and one son, who lost his life a short time previous to the massacre of Wyoming, which was probably the exciting cause of her fury at that place. She afterward settled on the point south of Union Springs, in Cayuga County, and died there of old age.

CATHARINE MONTOUR was young enough to be the grand daughter of Madame Montour. At the time of Sullivan's campaign and for some years previous she had resided at her village near present Havana. She had two sons, Roland and John, and a daughter Belle. Her sons were conspicuous characters at Cherry Valley, Wyoming and in Sullivan's campaign, where John was wounded in the battle of Newtown. Roland married the daughter of Siangorochti, the chief sachem of the Senecas; both sons were known as captains in the many Indian raids against the border settlements. Catharine's reputed husband was Edward Pollard, a sutler at Fort Niagara, who was also the father of the famous Seneca warrior, Captain Pollard, by another Indian wife. There was at this time another Capt. John Montour near Fort Pitt, who accompanied Colonel Brodhead in his expedition up the Allegany, who was loyal to the American cause throughout the war. In this expedition of Col. Brodhead, the husband of Belle Montour was killed.

Thursday, 2d.—Laid still. Our line of march being confused by the badness of the road the day before.

Friday, Sept. 3d.—The signal gun fired at 7 o'clock, the army marched off at 8 o'clock, marched about twelve miles and encamped in the wood on the east side of the Seneca Lake.<sup>79</sup> The land good and well timbered.

Saturday, ye 4th Sept.—The Gen'l beat at 9 o'clock in the morning. The army marched at 10 o'clock, marched 4 miles and halted.<sup>80</sup>

Sunday ye 5th.—The Gen'l beat at half past 9 o'clock, the army marched at 10 o'clock and encamped in a town called Candaya,<sup>81</sup> or Applétown.

Monday, Sept. 6th.—At two o'clock in the afternoon left Appletown and marched about three miles and encamped in the wood.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>79</sup> PEACH ORCHARD, a small Indian town, was destroyed here, August 3d, on the point, called Apple-tree town in Nukerck's Journal. Jenkins says "the army encamped about 4 in the afternoon near a small Indian settlement," &c.

<sup>80</sup> CONDAWHAW.—An Indian town occupied in 1779, located on the east side of Seneca Lake on the present site of North Hector, was so called in 1778 by Luke Swetland, who passed through it while on his way to Kendaia. It was burned by the army Sept. 4, 1779. It is called Apple Town in William Barton's Journal.

<sup>81</sup> KENDAIA, a town containing about twenty houses, located on lot 79 Romulus, on the east side of Seneca lake, on land now owned by Edward Van Vliet. It was about half a mile from the lake, on both sides of a small stream. Luke Swetland resided here for a year as a prisoner, until rescued by the army. Several journals give interesting accounts of this town, and especially of the Indian tombs, which appear to have been arranged with more than ordinary care. It was the custom on the death of distinguished personages to paint on their monumental posts a record of important events relating to the history of the deceased person. The fact that these tombs were different in construction and style of ornamentation from others, suggests the idea that they were a remnant of some subjugated tribe, differing in mode of burial from the Iroquois. A noted Seneca warrior named Kendaia was conspicuous at the siege of Ft. Niagara in 1759.

<sup>82</sup> LIEUT. HARDENBERGH mentions the fact of being "drafted on the right flank, which was commanded by Col. Dubois." He was probably one of the one hundred men drafted from the line, as part of the right flanking division, and consequently would be on the extreme right of the army while *en route*. The centre line of the army was the regular Indian trail, which was opened to a sufficient width for the passage of the artillery. Along Seneca Lake, the present lake road follows substantially on the line of the trail.

At this point, Beatty says "we encamped close along the edge of the lake, and opposite to us on the west side of the lake, we could perceive a small Indian town." See note 84, Gothæungnean.

Tuesday ye 7th.—At 8 o'clock in the morning struck tents, marched off and crossed the outlet of the Ceneca Lake, where we expected to meet some opposition, but the enemy had left the town. We entered it, found a white child<sup>83</sup> in the town, supposed to be about 4 years old, it was supposed they had taken away from the frontiers, where they had destroyed and burnt. The Ceneca Lake is supposed to be thirty-six miles in length from south to north. The land along the east side appears to be a rich soil and well timbered. At the north end is the outlet which is a continual stream and considerable large. About three miles and a half from the outlet is the town Cannadasago or Ceneca Castle.<sup>84</sup>

Wednesday ye 8th Sept.—Laid still at Cannadasago.

Thursday ye 9th.—Marched from Cannadasago about 8 miles and encamped in the wood.<sup>85</sup>

Friday 10th.—At 7 o'clock marched off about 7 miles and crossed the outlet of a small lake, a few miles from which stood a Town called Canandagui,<sup>86</sup> about 15½ miles from Cen-

<sup>83</sup> This child was tenderly cared for, adopted by Capt. Machin, an officer in the artillery, and christened Thomas Machin. After the return of the army it was placed in a family near Kingston, N. Y., where it died some two years after of small pox. No clue was ever obtained as to its parentage.

<sup>84</sup> KANADASEAGA, the *grand village*, so called from being the residence of the chief sachem of the Senecas, located one and a half miles north-west of present village of Geneva on both sides of Kanadaseaga Creek. This was the capital of the Seneca nation and contained about sixty well built houses. A stockade fort was built here in 1756 by Sir William Johnson, the remains of which were in existence in 1779. Rev. Samuel Kirkland was a missionary here in 1764-6. Was destroyed Sept. 9.

BUTLER'S BUILDINGS.—A small village called Butler's Buildings was found on the shore of the lake, near present canal bridge, in the village of Geneva.

GOTH-EUNQUEAN, also called *Shenanwaga* and many other dialectical variations, an important town, was also destroyed Sept. 8, by a detachment of riflemen under Major Parr. The name is perpetuated in Keshong creek, on which it was situated, on Seneca lake, seven miles south of Geneva. It contained twenty houses.

<sup>85</sup> From Kanadaseaga the route was first south west for about two miles to the line of the present turnpike, and thence nearly due west along the line of the turnpike to Canandaigua lake. Beatty mentions an ancient stockade fort between Kanadaseaga and Canandaigua. This was on Flint creek on lot 92 in N. W. corner of the town of Seneca. The encampment was on Flint creek.

<sup>86</sup> KANANDAIGUA, an Indian town of twenty-three large houses mostly framed, located about a mile from the lake shore, in west part of present village of Canandaigua. The

eca Castle, which we entered, and encamped at 3 o'clock, about a mile north of the town in a large cornfield.

Saturday ye 11th Sept.—Struck our tents at 9 o'clock and marched about 9 miles through an open country, halted at 11 o'clock for refreshment, moved at one o'clock, and arrived at a small town called Honyuga.<sup>87</sup> At this town we left a small garrison of one Capt., one Lieut. and fifty men, exclusive of invalids, with some flour, horses and cattle.

Sunday 12th.—Left Haunyuga at 12 o'clock, marched about 11 miles and encamped in the wood.<sup>88</sup>

Monday, 13th.—At five o'clock in the morning marched about two miles to a small town called Adjutoa,<sup>89</sup> from this

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corn fields, which were very extensive, were located on the ridge north of the town. The usual variety and quantity of fruit trees were found here, all of which were destroyed. From Kanandaigua the route of the army was nearly south west, substantially on the line of the present road through Bristol to the foot of Honeoye Lake, a distance of sixteen miles, to the next village of Hanneyaye.

<sup>87</sup> HANNEYAYE, an Indian town occupied in 1779, located at the foot of Honeoye lake, about half a mile east of the outlet, and south of Mill creek. It contained about twenty houses, one of which was occupied as a fort under command of Capt. Cummings of the 2d N. J. regiment. Beatty gives the following description of the work which he says was occupied by three hundred men in all: "They was encamped round the house where we had left our stores, and the camp was abbateed in, and round the house they had made a small Fort of kegs, and bags of flour, and had three pieces of artillery in it, and the house they had made full of loop holes, so as to fight out of it in case of necessity, and upon the whole I think they was very safe."

<sup>88</sup> On leaving Hanneyaye the army forded the outlet near the lake, and taking a west course, nearly on the line of the present east and west road leading west from present village of Honeoye, to the summit of the dividing ridge, and thence in a south west course, crossing the outlet of Hemlock lake at its foot, and continuing over the hill on same course to present Foot's corners, in the town of Conesus, where the army encamped on level ground two miles north of the Indian town Adjutoa or Kanaghsaws.

<sup>89</sup> KANAGHSAWS, or Adjutoa according to some Journals, an Indian town of 18 houses, located about a mile north west of Conesus Centre, on the north and south road that passes through the McMillen farm. Between the town and the lake on Henderson's flats were the cornfields. The village appears to have occupied the grounds in the vicinity of the McMillen residence, and extended north across the creek, and southward to the plateau now covered by an orchard which was probably an ancient palisaded site of the town. The main body of the army encamped on the night of the 12th nearly two miles north on the flats, south-west of Foot's corners. A local tradition exists that Hand with the light troops followed the road through Union Corners and encamped on the L. B. Richardson farm, south west of Conesus Centre at the False Faces, but nothing of the kind is found in any of the jour-

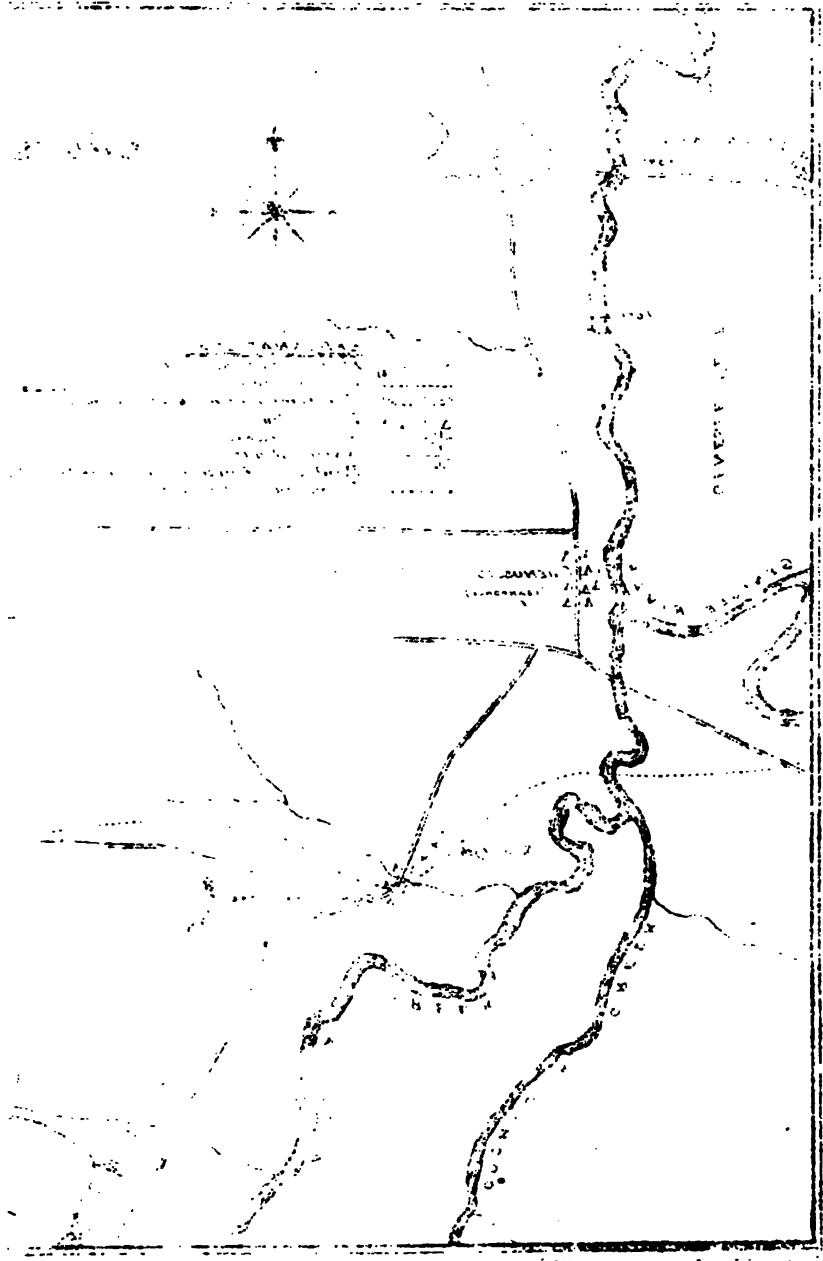
place the Gen'l sent out a scout of one Sub. and 19 men to reconnoitre a town that was in front. On his return he was attacked by about 100 Indians and were all killed but 2 men who had the good fortune to make their escape.<sup>90</sup> The

nals, and is probably incorrect. George Grant says a fine stream of water ran through the town, and that "Captain Sunfish, a negro, resided here, a very bold, enterprising fellow, who commanded the town." Several Journals mention the fact that Big Tree, a noted Indian warrior, also made this his home. President Dwight describes him as a man of lofty character and dignified deportment, and that he had strenuously urged his countrymen to observe strict neutrality, but without success. The chieftain stood on an elevated spot and saw his own possessions destroyed. "You see how the Americans treat their friends," said some of those around him, favorable to Great Britain. "What I see," calmly replied the chief, "is only the common fortune of war. It cannot be supposed that the Americans can distinguish my property from yours, who are their enemies." The army was engaged until near noon in destroying the crops and re-building the bridge which had been destroyed by the enemy.

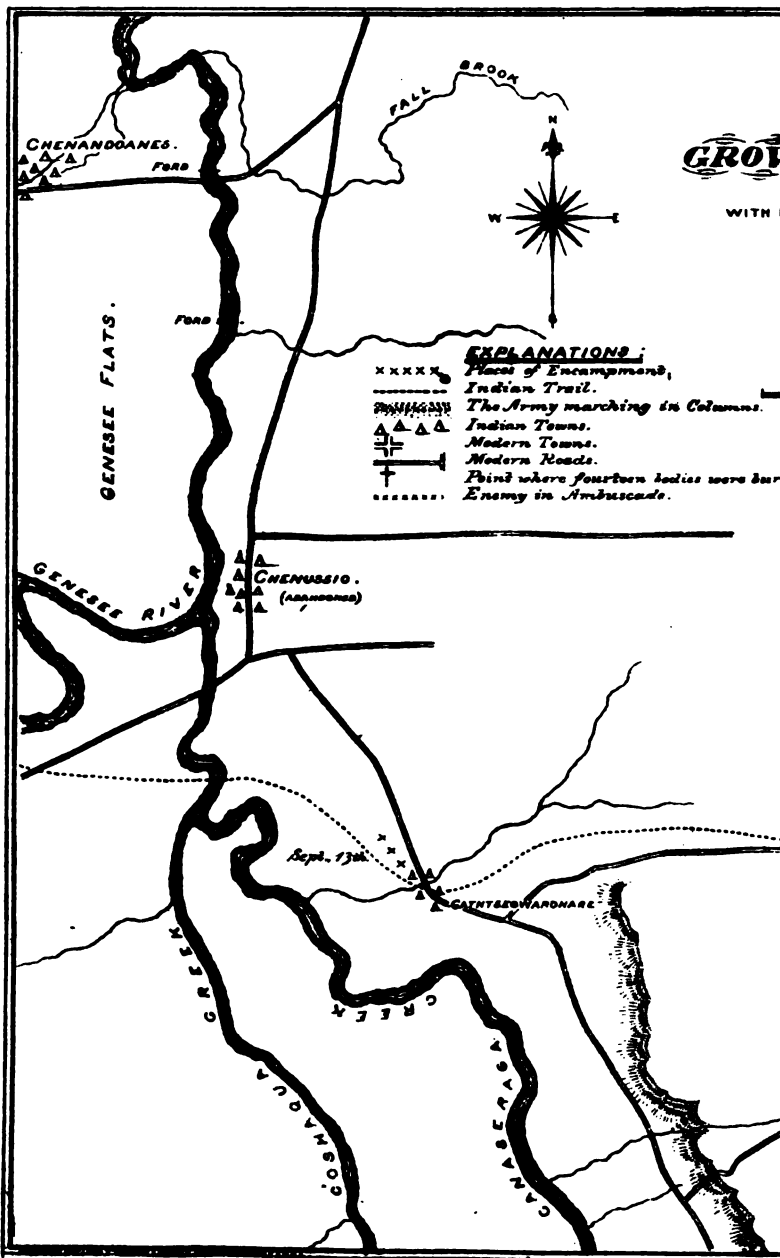
<sup>90</sup> GROVELAND AMBUSCADE.—This, one of the most important matters connected with Sullivan's campaign, has, for a hundred years, remained a stumbling block and mystery to historians. This has arisen in part from erroneous views as to the location of Gathsegwarohare and the trails, but mainly from the mistaken idea that Boyd's party was the force against which the efforts of the enemy were originally directed, rather than that it was a formidable attempt to ambuscade the main army.

From Kanaghsaws the trail led south westerly across the low grounds following the line of the present road near the inlet, and crossing it at, or very near the site of the present bridge, about three-fourths of a mile from the head of the lake. North of the bridge, the banks of the inlet are low and marshy, in many places impassable for infantry, and at all points impassable for artillery and pack horses; while south of the bridge, is a wet swamp almost impetrable from the thick growth of underbrush. west of the lake and inlet is a steep hill-side, the face of which, cut up by numerous ravines, is so steep that with considerable difficulty an army could march directly up it. The trail after leaving the bridge probably continued south westerly up the hill obliquely, nearly on the line of the present highway to the summit of the bluff, and thence turning northwest followed along the heads of the ravines for a mile and thence directly west to Gathsegwarohare. Directly west of the bridge, between two very deep ravines, is a space nearly half a mile in width, which continues up the hill on very favorable ground for the advance of the army. It appears to be the only point where it could advance in the order of march laid down, which would require a space of nearly a half a mile in width for the several columns.

After the battle of Newtown, Butler and Brant with their demoralized forces, sullenly retired, powerless to prevent the advance of the devastating army. Butler had reached the last Indian village of Canawaugas, located on the west side of the Genesee, twelve miles north of the Great Genesee Caetle. Here he received re-inforcements of regulars from Niagara, and determined to make one more effort against the invaders. Gathering all his available forces of regulars, Tories, and Indians, he left Canawaugas on the morning of the 12th of September, and probably reached the position on the hill west of Kanaghsaws, on the evening of the same day. Here they posted themselves north of the trail, at the heads of the ravines about three-fourths of a mile west of the bridge, and a mile and a half from Kanaghsaws. •This was a most admirable position for an ambus-







Map

THE ROUTE OF  
MONTGOMERY'S ARMY  
AND

**AMBUSCADE.**

SEPTEMBER 13TH, 1779.

THE POSITION AND POSITION OF  
THE VIGNITY.

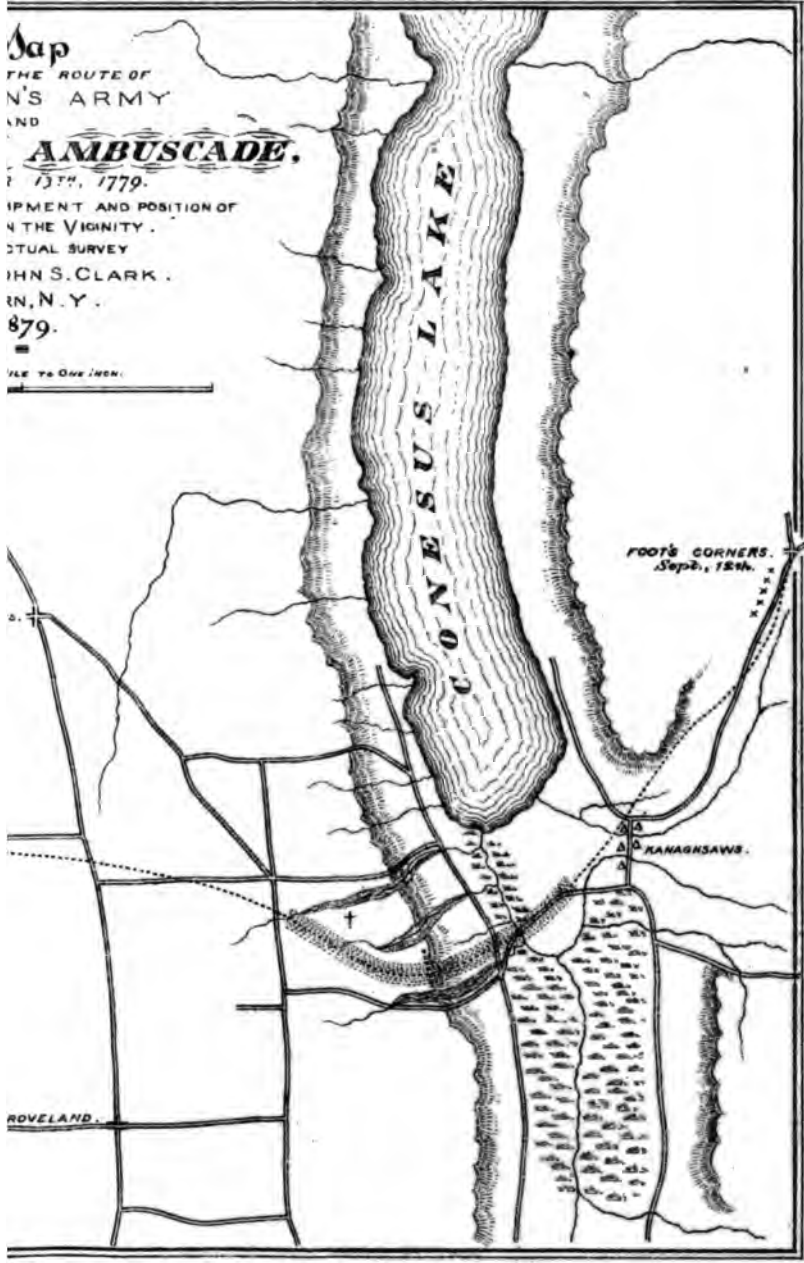
ACTUAL SURVEY

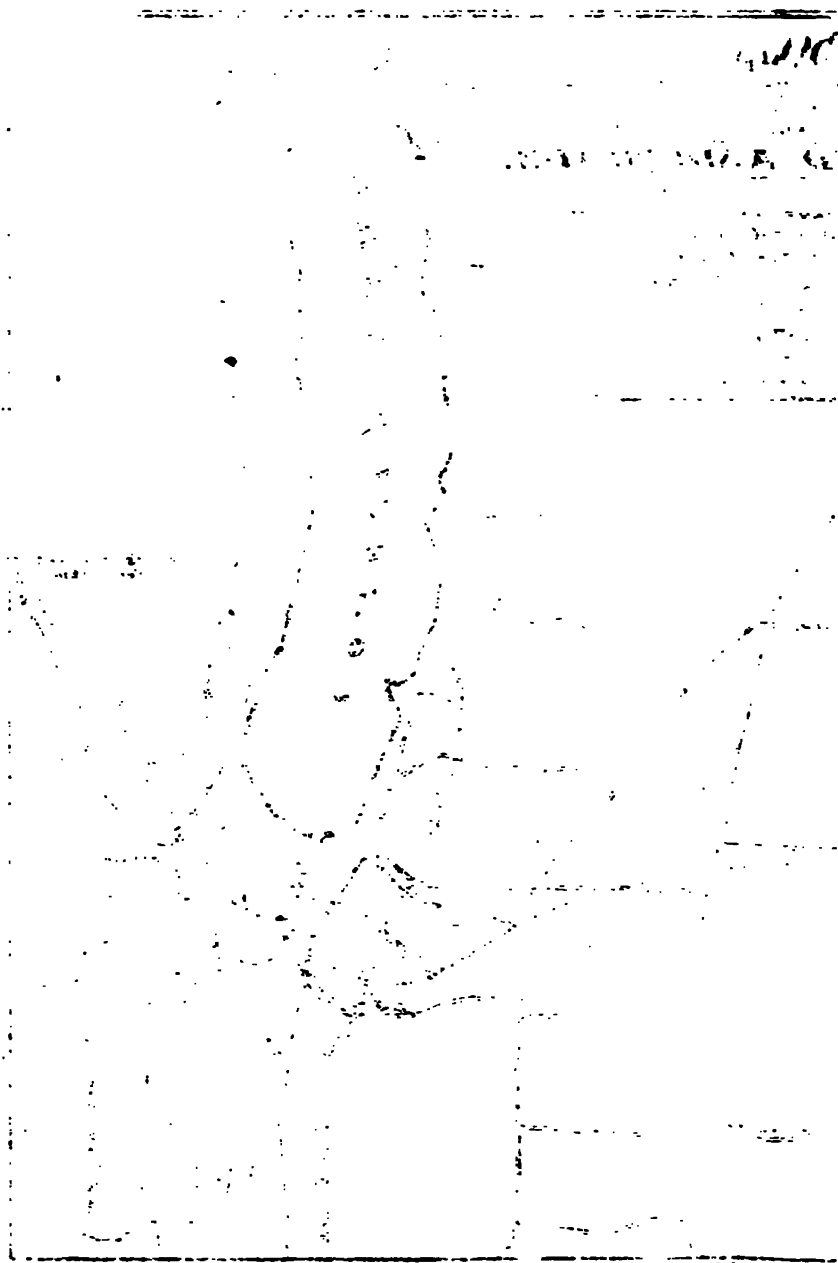
BY JOHN S. CLARK.

NEW YORK.

1879.

SCALE TO ONE INCH.





army remained in town till about 12 o'clock. Some were

cade, and in many essential particulars of topography and fact, bears a striking resemblance to the fatal ground where Braddock so ingloriously sacrificed his army; and had Sullivan advanced in the same blundering manner, he too, might have met with an equally disastrous defeat. The plan appears to have been, to attack a portion of the army after it had crossed the bridge, or to ambuscade the head of the column while ascending the hill; but whatever may have been the original design, it was completely frustrated by the fortunate movements of the unfortunate Boyd. It will be remembered that the army went into camp on the flats near Foot's Corners two miles north of the village of Kanaghsaws. Boyd and his party left camp at 11 o'clock at night, passed through the abandoned Kanaghsaws, and from thence pursued the direct trail which led south westerly up the hill to Gathsegwarohare. In the darkness of the night, he passed Butler's right flank, neither party being conscious of the presence of the other, and reached Gathsegwarohare, which the inhabitants had abandoned early in the morning, without encountering any difficulty. On the morning of the 13th Sullivan advanced to Kanaghsaws, and finding that the enemy had destroyed the bridge over the inlet, he detailed a portion of the army to aid the pioneers in its re-construction, and to repair the roadway over the low grounds leading to it. All of this was directly under the eye of Butler, who, according to a British account, "lay undiscovered though only a musket shot from the rebels, and even within sight." On reaching the town Boyd halted his forces at the suburbs, himself and one of his men reconnoitered the place, then rejoined the party and concealed themselves in the woods near the town. He sent back two of his men to report to General Sullivan, and awaited the light of the day whose morning was just breaking. These two men got through safely and reported. About daybreak four Indians were seen to enter the town by Boyd, one of whom was killed, another wounded, the rest escaped. Boyd then immediately set out to return, expecting to meet the army on the march, and when about half way, despatched two more men to inform the general of his intention to remain "on the path" and await the coming of the army. These men soon encountered five Indians, and returned; the entire party then resumed the march, following and firing on the retreating Indians, who lured them directly into the lines of the enemy. Colonel Butler hearing the firing on his right and rear imagined he was discovered, and that instead of ambuscading the rebels, he was himself to be surprised by this unexpected attack in the rear. No evidence whatever has appeared to confirm the conjecture, that Boyd's presence was either known or suspected in that quarter, by Butler, or any portion of his force, until discovered by the five retreating Indians, and to them, only by accident; but when discovered with true aboriginal cunning they allured their unsuspecting victims to the fatal embrace of the enemy, who came there to surprise an army, but were prevented by the blundering of a scout.

A few of Boyd's party who were acting as flankers escaped, five or six fell near the trail and were found when the army advanced, the remainder retreated a short distance north to a clump of trees, where their bodies were found all near together, and where all the bodies were buried on the return march of the army on the 16th. During the construction of the bridge a guard had been established west of the inlet, and Captain Lodge with his party engaged in making their surveys, had advanced some distance up the hill; the bridge was about completed when the fugitive flankers came rushing down the hill pursued by small parties of the enemy. Hand's brigade immediately advanced up the hill to the position occupied by the enemy in the morning, where he found the packs of the enemy in the position they had left a few minutes previous. He remained here in line of battle until the army had crossed, and formed for the advance up the hill.

employed in destroying corn and some in building a bridge (across a mirey swamp and creek) for the artillery to pass. While we were so employed the surveyor<sup>91</sup> had advanced a little in front of the advanced guard, was fired upon by the Indians and had one of his party wounded.<sup>92</sup> At 12 o'clock we left the town, and arrived at a town called Cassawau-loughly<sup>93</sup> 7 miles from Adjutoa, which we entered at sunset.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Capt. Benjamin Lodge, with a party of assistants accompanied the army and with chain and compass surveyed the entire route of the army from Easton to the great Genesee town. On the return march he accompanied Col. Butler's expedition through the Cayuga country.

<sup>92</sup> CORPORAL CALHAWN, a volunteer, died the next day.

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<sup>85</sup> **GENESEE CASTLE.**—This was the great village of the Senecas, the western door of the Long House, located between Cuylerville and the west bank of the Genesee river, in the town of Leicester, Livingston County. It appears on Evans' map as Chenandoanes in 1776, is mentioned as early as 1754 as Chenandanah, and is often called Little Beard's town. Sullivan's official report says: "The Castle consisted of 128 houses mostly large and elegant. The place was beautifully situated, almost encircled with a cleared flat, which extended for a number of miles, where the most extensive fields of corn were waving, and every kind of vegetable that can be conceived."

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guards to which I belonged) were employed in destroying corn from 6 o'clock in the morning till two in the afternoon. In the meantime a white woman<sup>28</sup> with a small child came to us who had been taken prisoner at Wyoming. At about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, we set the town on fire, marched off, re-crossed the River and encamped after sunset on the Chinicee flats.

Thursday, 16th Sept.—Decamped at 11 o'clock, marched six miles and encamped at the town of Adjutoa at half past five P. M.

Friday 17th.—Decamped at 6 o'clock, marched off and arrived at the town of Haunyuga at one o'clock P. M.

Saturday, 18th Sept.—At 5 o'clock in the morning marched, at 7 o'clock crossed the outlet of a Lake at Canandagui,<sup>29</sup> and encamped at sunset on the east side of the outlet.

Sunday 19.—At seven o'clock in the morning struck tents, marched at 8 o'clock and arrived at sunset at Canadasago.<sup>30</sup>

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Tuesday, 28th.—Struck tents at 8 o'clock, marched at 9, left Candaya<sup>104</sup> or Appletown about two miles in the rear, and encamped in the wood, along the east side of the Cenecca Lake, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

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employed in destroying corn and some in building a bridge (across a mirey swamp and creek) for the artillery to pass. While we were so employed the surveyor<sup>91</sup> had advanced a little in front of the advanced guard, was fired upon by the Indians and had one of his party wounded.<sup>92</sup> At 12 o'clock we left the town, and arrived at a town called Cassawau-loughly<sup>93</sup> 7 miles from Adjutoa, which we entered at sunset.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Capt. Benjamin Lodge, with a party of assistants accompanied the army and with chain and compass surveyed the entire route of the army from Easton to the great Genesee town. On the return march he accompanied Col. Butler's expedition through the Cayuga country.

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<sup>106</sup> During the absence of the army Col. Reid had constructed a palisaded work at the junction of Newtown creek and the Chemung just below Sullivan's Mills in Elmira, called in some accounts Fort Reid.

Saturday, 25th Sept.—Laid still. An ox and 5 gallons of rum was given to the officers of each Brigade.<sup>107</sup> A fude-joy was held in consequence of the arrival of the news of Spain declaring us Independent<sup>108</sup> with 13 rounds of cannon was discharged, followed by two round of musketry interspersed with cannon. The evening was celebrated in our camp with much joy and gladness.<sup>109</sup>

Sunday 26th.—Laid still.

Monday, 27th Sept.—A detachment under the command \* \* \* was sent out and returned at night.<sup>110</sup>

Tuesday 28th.—A detachment under the command of Col. Cortlandt was sent up the Tiyuga<sup>111</sup> branch on purpose to destroy some corn. Col. Butler with his detachment joined us. The invalids were sent to Tiyuga in boats.

Wednesday, 29th Sept.—The Gen'l beat at 8 o'clock in the morning, marched at 9 o'clock and encamped in the afternoon three miles below Shemung.

Thursday 30th.—At nine o'clock in the morning marched off and arrived at Tiyuga at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. At our arrival we were saluted with a discharge of 13 cannon from the Garrison, and an elegant dinner was prepared for the officers.

Friday, Oct. 1, 1779.—Laid still at Tiyuga.<sup>112</sup>

Saturday 2d.—Laid still. Orders were given to load the

<sup>107</sup> There were five brigades.

<sup>108</sup> At the same time news was received of "the generous proceedings of Congress in augmenting the subsistence of the officers and men."

<sup>109</sup> Thirteen appropriate toasts were drunk. The last was follows: "May the enemies of America be metamorphosed into pack horses and sent on a western expedition against the Indians."—*Losing's Field Book Rev.*, I, 278, note.

<sup>110</sup> "Sept. 27.—A large fatigue party was sent up the river nine miles, where they loaded nine boats with corn and other vegetables and brought them down. This evening Mr. Lodge and five men from Col. Butler came in and informed us that the Col. was about 10 miles from camp."—*Jenkins' Journal*.

<sup>111</sup> Col. VanCortlandt says he went above Painted Post.

<sup>112</sup> TIUGA POINT, below present Athens. See note 63.

boat with stores, artillery, &c., and to demolish the fort<sup>113</sup> the next day.

Sunday, ye 3d Oct.—Agreable to the orders of the preceding day the boats were loaded, the fort demolished and every thing got in readiness to march the next morning.

Monday, 4th Oct.—At 7 o'clock in the morning the Gen'l beat, struck our tents, the army marched at nine from Tiyuga. The boats with the stores, artillery and sick set off at the same time, and encamped at evening at Wysaukin creek.

Tuesday, the 5th Oct.—The main part of the army embarked on board the boats, the best were mounted on horses, left Wysaukin about 7 o'clock in the morning and arrived at Vanderlips<sup>114</sup> farm, and stayed at night.

Wednesday ye 6th Oct.—At 6 o'clock in the morning set off and arrived at sunset at Lechawauny<sup>115</sup> about 10 miles from Weyoming.

Thursday, 7th Oct.—At 9 o'clock in the morning left Lechawauny and arrived at Weyoming<sup>116</sup> about 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

Friday, Oct. ye 8th.—Laid still.

Saturday, ye 9th.—Remained at Weyoming, but received orders to march at 6 o'clock the next morning.

Sunday, Oct. 10th.—At 6 o'clock next morning were ordered to march, but on account of our pack horses being strayed we did not march till 2 o'clock in the morning, when we left Weyoming and arrived at Bullock's<sup>117</sup> at dark.

<sup>113</sup> FORT SULLIVAN, built on the narrow isthmus between the two rivers in present village of Athens. See note 70.

<sup>114</sup> VAN DER LIPPES. See note 58.

<sup>115</sup> LACKAWANNA. See Note 55. The site of Coxton, ten miles from Wyoming at the upper end of the valley.

<sup>116</sup> WYOMING fort and village on the east side of the Susquehanna below present Wilkesbarre. See note 44.

<sup>117</sup> BULLOCK'S, deserted house, seven miles from Wyoming at the Great Meadows, and fifty-eight miles from Easton,—called also Sullivan's camp, from his encamping there June 22. Nathan Bullock resided here at the time of the Wyoming massacre. He had two sons, Amos and Asa, one of whom was a lawyer, both killed in the battle. The father was captured and carried to Canada in 1780.

Monday, 11th Oct.—At 9 o'clock in the morning decamped from Bullock's and encamped about two miles through the Shades of Death.<sup>118</sup>

Tuesday, 12th Oct.—At 7 in the morning proceeded on our march. The after part of the day rainy and windy weather, we arrived at White Oak Run<sup>119</sup> at evening and encamped.

Wednesday 13th.—Decamped from White Oak Run at 8 o'clock in the morning and arrived at Brinker's Mills<sup>120</sup> and encamped.

Thursday 14th.—Decamped from Brinker's Mills, marched from thence, and arrived within 11 miles from Easton and encamped<sup>121</sup> on the side of the road in a wood.

Friday, 15th Oct.—Decamped at 7 o'clock, marched for Easton<sup>122</sup> and arrived there about 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

Saturday 16th.—Laid still.

Sunday 17th.—Laid still.

Monday, 18th Oct.—Capt. Bevier and myself set out from Easton at 11 o'clock for Marbletown,<sup>123</sup> traveled about twenty miles and put up at the Widow Sweezer's.

Tuesday, 19th Oct.—At half past 7 o'clock in the morning, traveled about 27 miles and put up at Cary's Tavern.

<sup>118</sup> SHADES OF DEATH, so called from being a dense forest. Several places in Pennsylvania bore the same name. See note 31.

<sup>119</sup> WHITE OAK RUN, or RUM BRIDGE, 33 miles from Easton. See note 36.

<sup>120</sup> BRINKER'S MILLS, or Sullivan's Stores, so called "on account of a large house built here, and a quantity of provisions being stored therein for the use of the forces under Major General Sullivan's command."—*Rogers' Journal*. Captain Patterson was in command; 19 miles from Easton in present town of Hamilton, Monroe county.

<sup>121</sup> Encamped near Heller's Tavern at the foot of Blue Mountain, at present Heller-ville in town of Plainfield, Northampton county, 12 miles from Easton.

<sup>122</sup> "EASTON consists of about 150 houses. There are but three elegant buildings in it, and about as many inhabitants that are any ways agreeable. Take them in general they are a very inhospitable set—all High Dutch and Jews."—*Shute's Journal*.

<sup>123</sup> MARBLETOWN, a town in Ulster Co., N. Y., west of the Hudson. They appear to have taken the road through Warren and Sussex counties, N. J.

Wednesday 20th.—At 7 o'clock A. M., left Cary's, dined at Bard's in Warick,<sup>124</sup> set out from thence and put up at Bruster's Tavern about 11 miles from New Windsor.<sup>125</sup>

Thursday, 21st.—Left Bruster's at 8 o'clock in the morning and arrived at Newburgh, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

Friday 22nd.—Set out from Newburgh at 8 o'clock in the morning and arrived at the Poltz<sup>126</sup> and staid that night.

Saturday, 23d Oct.—At three o'clock in the afternoon set out and arrived home the same night.

From the 23d Oct., 1779, I remained home till the 9th of Dec., when I set out to join the Reg't, which I did on the 15th, and found them employed in building huts for winter quarters, about 3 miles from Morristown.

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<sup>124</sup> WARWICK on Wawayanda creek in south west part of Orange county.

<sup>125</sup> NEW WINDSOR on the Hudson, in Orange county.

<sup>126</sup> NEW PALTZ, a post village, on the Walkill in Ulster County, N. Y.

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(The Hardenbergh Journal here closes. The Nukerck Journal continues the history of the regiment for the year 1780 and until the five regiments were consolidated near the close of that year.)



## GENERAL CLINTON'S MARCH DOWN THE SUSQUEHANNA.

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GENERAL JAMES CLINTON was born in Orange County, New York, August 9th, 1736. He was third son of Colonel Charles Clinton, brother of Governor George Clinton, and father of Governor DeWitt Clinton, of New York. During the French and English war, in 1756, he distinguished himself at the capture of Fort Frontenac, where he was a Captain under Bradstreet. Seven years later he commanded the regiments raised to protect the frontiers of Orange and Ulster counties against Indian incursions. In 1775, with the rank of Colonel, he accompanied the chivalric Montgomery to Quebec. He was appointed a brigadier, August 9th, 1776, and commanded Fort Clinton when it was attacked in October, 1777, by Sir Henry Clinton; his brother, George Clinton, at same time being in command of Fort Montgomery. After a gallant defense against superior numbers, the forts were carried by storm, Gen. Clinton being the last man to leave the works. He was stationed at West Point during the greater part of 1778. In 1779 he commanded the brigade of New York troops under General Sullivan. With a force of 1600 men he ascended the Mohawk to Canajoharie, and thence across to Otsego lake. Here he collected a large number of batteaux, and erecting a dam at the foot of the lake, raised the water several feet. By tearing away the dam, an artificial flood was made, on which the batteaux floated to the place of meeting at Tioga, the army marching alongside by land. The Journals of Lieut. Van Hovenbergh and Major Beatty give an account of this march.

## MAJOR ERKURIES BEATTY.

Major Erkuries Beatty, was born October 9, 1759, son of Rev. Charles Beatty, who came to America from Ireland in 1729. He was an apprentice in Elizabethtown, N. J., at the beginning of the revolution, and served with the Jersey troops; was at Long Island Aug. 9, 1776, under General Sterling, and served as a sergeant at White Plains, Oct. 28. He was commissioned an Ensign in the 4th Penn. regiment, with rank from Jan. 3, 1777; was promoted to Lieutenant May 2, and was engaged in the battle of Brandywine, Sept. 11th of same year. He was badly wounded at Germantown, but rejoined his regiment at Valley Forge in January, 1778. He was at Monmouth June 28 of that year, and shortly after accompanied his regiment to Schoharie, N. Y. He was with Col. Van Schaick in his expedition against the Onondagas in June, 1779, and with his regiment accompanied Gen. Clinton down the Susquehanna to participate in Sullivan's campaign, during which he wrote a Journal covering the period from June 11 to Oct. 22 of that year, of which the following is a part, the original of which is now in the archives of the New York Historical Society, to whose courtesy we are indebted for permission to make a copy. He was at the surrender of Cornwallis Oct. 19, was mustered out of service Nov. 3, 1783, and died at Princeton, N. J., Feb. 23, 1823.

## PART OF BEATTY'S JOURNAL, 1779.

Monday, Aug. 9.—Agrecable to yesterday's order the Gen'l beat at 6 o'clock, the troops marched about 8, excepting 3 Men which was to remain in each boat to take them down the River. The Infantry march in front which I now belong to, and the Remainder of Battalions next, marched

on 16 miles within 5 miles of Yorkham's<sup>177</sup> where we encamped on a small improvement called Burrows<sup>178</sup> farm where there was a great many Rattlesnakes and very large, there was one killed with 15 rattles on.

Tuesday 10.—Rained a little last night and this day till 10 o'clock—marched off the ground at 3 o'clock and went 5 miles to Yorkham's where we encamped, the men in the Boats encamped on the farm which lies on the East side of the River and the Remainder on the other side opposite, went on guard to-night.

Wednesday 11.—Marched off this morning at Sunrise and proceeded on 14 miles down the River where we encamped on a small farm, passed several farms to-day with very poor houses on them and some none, the Riflemen in front saw fresh Indian tracks to-day on the Path and found a \* \* \* at one of their \* \* \* To-day we crossed a large creek called Otego, and passed several Indian encampments, where they had encamped when they were going to destroy Cherry Valley or returning, likewise we passed one of their encampments yesterday, we encamped to-night at Ogden's farm and very bad encamping ground.

Thursday 12.—Marched off this morning 7 o'clock, had the advanced Guard to-day, proceeded down the West side of the River as usual, 12 Miles came to a small Scotch settlement called Albout<sup>179</sup> on the other side of the River 5 miles from Unadilla which we burnt, but the people had gone to the Enemy this last Spring, went on to Unadilla, crossed the River to the East side and encamped, the River was about middle deep when we waded it. This settlement was de-

<sup>177</sup> JOACHIM VAN VALKENBERG, afterwards killed in battle near Lake Utsayunthe in 1781.

<sup>178</sup> Van Hovenberg's Journal says Burris Farms.

<sup>179</sup> ALBOUT.—A Scotch, tory settlement on the east side of the Unadilla river, five miles above Unadilla, was burnt Aug. 12, 1779, by Clinton's detachment. Most of the Scotch Settlers went to Canada at the beginning of the difficulties; those who remained were more in sympathy with the British than with the Americans.

stroyed by our detachment last fall excepting one house which belonged to one Glasford who went to the enemy this Spring, his house was immediately burnt when we came on the ground to-day. We passed several old Indians encamp'ts where they encamped when they destroyed Cherry Valley, the road middling hilly.

Friday 13th.—This morning very foggy and a great deal of dew. Marched off at 6 o'clock, went 2 miles, waded the River about 3 foot deep, proceeded on to Conihunto<sup>130</sup> a small Indian village that was, but was Destroyed by our Detachment last fall, its 14 miles from Unadilla.<sup>131</sup> A little below this town there is 3 or 4 Islands in the River where the Indians raised their corn. On one of those Islands our troops encamped with the boats and cattle, the light Infantry went 2 miles from Conihunto where they encamped a little after 3 o'clock in the woods. Middle good Road to-day.

Saturday 14th.—Marched this morning at 8 o'clock, very hilly road for the Right flank, arrived at the fording 2 miles from Onoquaga<sup>132</sup> about 2 o'clock which is 8 from where we started, the ford being too deep to wade, crossed in our Boats to the East Side, went over a high hill and got to Onoquaga at 3 o'clock where we encamped on very pretty ground. This town was one of the neatest of the Indian towns on the Susquehanna, it was built on each side of the River with good

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<sup>130</sup> CONIHUNTO, called Gunnagunter by Van Hovenberg, an Indian town 14 miles below Unadilla, destroyed by Col. William Butler in 1778. It appears to have been on the west side of the river.

<sup>131</sup> UNADILLA, an Indian town at the junction of the Unadilla with the Susquehanna, destroyed by Col. William Butler in 1778. "Returning to Unadilla, that settlement, on both sides of the river was burned, as also a grist-mill and saw-mill, the only ones in the Susquehanna Valley."—*Letter of Col. William Butler.*

<sup>132</sup> ONOQUAGA, an Indian town on both sides of the Susquehanna river, eight miles below Conihunto near present Onoquaga in the town of Colesville, Broome Co. When destroyed by Col. Butler in 1778 he mentions a lower or Tascarora town three miles below, this would be near present Windsor. The old fort mentioned is probably one built for the Indians by Sir William Johnson in 1756. Rev. Gideon Hawley was a missionary here at an early date.

guards to which I belonged) were employed in destroying corn from 6 o'clock in the morning till two in the afternoon. In the meantime a white woman<sup>98</sup> with a small child came to us who had been taken prisoner at Weyoming. At about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, we set the town on fire, marched off, re-crossed the River and encamped after sunset on the Chinicee flats.

Thursday, 16th Sept.—Decamped at 11 o'clock, marched six miles and encamped at the town of Adjutoa at half past five P. M.

Friday 17th.—Decamped at 6 o'clock, marched off and arrived at the town of Haunyuga at one o'clock P. M.

Saturday, 18th Sept.—At 5 o'clock in the morning marched, at 7 o'clock crossed the outlet of a Lake at Canandagui,<sup>99</sup> and encamped at sunset on the east side of the outlet.

Sunday 19.—At seven o'clock in the morning struck tents, marched at 8 o'clock and arrived at sunset at Canadasago.<sup>100</sup>

Monday, 20th Sept.—At two P. M. struck tents, marched off at 3 o'clock from Canadasago, crossed the outlet of Cene-

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trary, several mention the fact, that *all the army* were engaged in the destruction of the town, and cornfields, which, when completed at 2 o'clock on the afternoon of the 15th, *the whole army* came to an about face, and returned on the same route and in same order in which they advanced. Butler left Canawaugas on the morning of the 15th for Niagara.

<sup>98</sup> Nathan Davis in his account, before referred to, mentions the incident with additional particulars. Her story was that at the time she and her little boy were taken prisoners, her husband was killed by the savages; that she had lived with the Indians some two years, and when the army entered the town, the day before, the Indians were in such haste to get out it that she could not follow them and finally lost herself in the woods, and thinking it might be Butler's camp she had ventured to show herself. She was taken to the General's Quarters and well provided for. During the march the woman and her boy were furnished with a horse. On the third day of the march the child was taken sick and shortly after died. The boy was wrapped in an old blanket and hastily buried. The scene is described as exceedingly touching. She afterward married Roswell Franklin, the first settler of Cayuga County.

<sup>99</sup> Present Canandaigua Lake in Ontario county, see note 86.

<sup>100</sup> See note 84 for description of this town.

ca Lake and encamped at sunset near the lake.<sup>101</sup> Previous to our march from Canadasago Col. Butler of the 4th Pennsylvania Regiment was sent with a detachment to the Kiyuga<sup>102</sup> Lake to destroy some Indian settlements that were there. Col. Gansevort sent with one hundred men to fort Stanwix<sup>103</sup> in order to send down some baggage which was left on the Mohawk River by troops that had been stationed there the preceding year.

Tuesday, 28th.—Struck tents at 8 o'clock, marched at 9, left Candaya<sup>104</sup> or Appletown about two miles in the rear, and encamped in the wood, along the east side of the Cenecca Lake, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

Wednesday 22d.—At 6 o'clock the Gen'l beat, marched at 8, halted at one o'clock, about one hour for refreshments, and encamped at sunset along the east side Cenecca Lake.

Thursday, 23d Sept.—Marched at 8 o'clock, left French Catharine, about 3 miles in the rear, and encamped at sunset.<sup>105</sup>

Friday, 24th.—About 6 o'clock in the morning the Gen'l beat, marched at 8 o'clock and arrived at the forks of the Tiyuga or Newton. At this place there was a post established by order of General Sullivan, and provision for the army at their return.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>101</sup> This encampment was on Rose Hill in the town of Fayette.

<sup>102</sup> Lieut. Col. William Butler. See Thomas Grant's account of the march of this detachment.

<sup>103</sup> No account has been found of the exact route taken by this detachment. It is supposed they followed the regular Indian trail, the line of which was afterward substantially adopted for the Seneca Turnpike, which passed through Auburn and Onondaga Hill to Fort Stanwix on the Mohawk, on the site of present Rome in Oneida County. On the way the party passed through the Oneida and Tuscarora towns, where every mark of hospitality and friendship was shown the party. They reached Fort Stanwix on the 25th.

<sup>104</sup> KENDATA. See note No. 81 for description of this town.

<sup>105</sup> "We lost in this place more than a hundred horses, and it has been called, I suppose, the valley of Horse Heads to this day."—*Nathan Daris' Statement.*

<sup>106</sup> During the absence of the army Col. Reid had constructed a palisaded work at the junction of Newtown creek and the Chemung just below Sullivan's Mills in Elmira, called in some accounts Fort Reid.

which was in small skirmishing. The Indians had taken off all their [property] from Shamong, except a few cattle which our people got.

Thursday 19th.—Marched this morning 7 o'clock, went 2 Miles where we burnt 7 or 8 houses on the East side of the River. 4 miles further at the Chuggnuts<sup>137</sup> we fell in with Gen'l Poor's army who was ready to march, they had burnt this settlement which lies on the East side of the River about 20 houses, made no halt here but went on 4 mile, Gen'l Clinton's army in front and Gen'l Poor's in the rear. Came to a middling large Creek where we made a halt for one hour, then marched on 12 Miles without halting and arrived at Owego<sup>138</sup> about sundown after a very fatiguing march of 22 Miles. This afternoon fell a small shower of Rain.

Friday 20th.—Rained a little last night, and successively all this day therefore did not move, went a party down to Owego town which lies one mile lower down and burnt it, consisted of about 20 houses.

Saturday 21.—Clear weather this morning but a very heavy fog, marched a little after 7 o'clock, forded Owego creek which is about \* \* \* one third of the Susquehanna, at this place it was about three feet deep and about 50 yards wide—Went thro. the \* \* \* of Owego town, crossed a pretty large brook, went 12 miles, halted at a small brook one hour for refreshment. Proceed on 3 Miles further when we

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<sup>137</sup> CHOCONUT, or *Chugnut*, an important Indian town of fifty or sixty houses, mostly on the south side of the Susquehanna at the mouth of Big Choconut creek, on the site of the present village of Vestal, in town of Vestal, Broome county. Burned Aug. 19, 1779, by Gen. Poor's detachment which encamped on the north side of the river near present Union where the two detachments united. Gen. Clinton's camp the same night, was six miles distant up the river.

<sup>138</sup> OWAGEA, an Indian town of about twenty houses. Occupied in 1779, located on Owego creek about a mile from the Susquehanna near the present village of Owego in Tioga County. Gen. Poor's detachment encamped Aug. 17th on the site of present village, where was a small Indian Hamlet. Owagea was burned Aug. 19.

encamped at 4 o'clock opposite Fitzgerald's farm<sup>139</sup> in the woods, it is a very fine farm but no house on it, nor any body living on it. On this ground where we encamped Mr. Sawyers a man who was made prisoner by Indians, along with his Neighbor Mr. Cowley who both lived on the head of the Delaware, after the Indians having them so far on their Journey, they rose in the Night killed the Indians which was 3 or 4 and made their escape, we saw the \* \* \* of the Indians \* \* \* when we came on the ground. To-day we met with a bad accident, two of our Boats of Ammunition overset in the River and Damaged a good many boxes of cartridges and a few casks of powder, to-night went on Guard.

<sup>139</sup> MANCKATAWANGUM, or Red Bank, here called Fitzgerald's Farm, appears to have been on the south side of the Susquehanna, in the town of Nichols, nearly opposite the village of Barton. Major Norris' Journal, in going up, says on the 16th the detachment "encamped near the ruins of an old town called MACKTOWANUCK" (see p. 41); Lieut. Jenkins' Journal; says "10 miles from Tioga at a place called MANCKATAWANGUM or Red Bank," and mentions encamping at same point on the return march. A table of distances in Canfield's Journal says "from the mouth of the Tioga (Chemung) to Mackatowando 10 miles." This would locate the Indian town at or near present Barton. On the Tioga county map, Mohontowonga Farm appears on the south side of the river opposite Barton, and an island in the river named Mohontowango.

Early in the spring of 1779, two men named Sawyer and Cowley were captured near Harpersfield, by four Schoharie Indians, named Han Yerry, Seth's Henry, Adam and Nicholas. One of the captives was an Irishman, the other a Scotchman. They were refugees from Harpersfield, who had sought safety in Schoharie at the beginning of the difficulties. The prisoners could not speak Dutch, which the Indians understood, nor could the Indians understand English. When captured, they claimed by signs to be friends of the King, and were not only willing, but anxious to accompany their captors. The prisoners set off with such apparent willingness on the journey, that the Indians did not think it necessary to bind them, but permitted them to procure wood and water. They had been captives eleven days without finding a favorable opportunity for escape, but on arriving at a deserted hut at this point, the captives were sent to cut wood a few rods distant, using for this purpose an ax belonging to one of the prisoners. On such occasions, usually one cut and the other carried to the camp fire; but this time, while Cowley was chopping, and Sawyer waiting for an armful, the latter took from his pocket a newspaper, and pretended to read its contents to his fellow, but really proposed a plan for regaining their liberty. After procuring a sufficient quantity of wood, and partaking of a scanty supper, they laid down for the night as usual, a prisoner between two Indians. When the Indians were sound asleep, the prisoners arose, secured the guns, shaking the priming from them, Sawyer securing the tomahawk of Han Yerry, and Cowley the ax. At a given signal, the blows descended, and the weapons sank deep into the brain of their victims, but unfortunately, Sawyer in attempting to free his weap-



Sunday 22d.—Marched off this morning 7 o'clock, proceeded on, we crossed two middling large brooks. Arrived at Tyoga 11 o'clock, where we found Genl. Hand's Brigade encamped one Mile above the mouth of the Tyoga where they was building 4 Block houses, the other troops was encamped over the point which was Gen'l's Poor's and Maxwell's Brigades, we encamped on the Right of the whole. On our coming into camp we was saluted by 13 Pieces of cannon which was Returned by our two little pieces on the River. We found Gen'l Hand's Brigade under arms with a Band of Music which played Beautiful as we passed by them. We encamped on a very \* \* \* pretty piece of ground and spent the Remainder of the day in seeing our friends in the different Regiments, likewise when we arrived here our Infantry was disbanded and ordered to join their respective Regts. Very heavy shower of rain this afternoon. Marched 7 miles to-day.

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on from the skull, drew the handle from its socket. These two Indians were killed, but the noise awoke the others, who instantly sprang to their feet; as Seth's Henry arose, he received a blow partially warded off by his right arm, but his shoulder was laid open and he fell back stunned; the fourth, as he was about to escape, received a heavy blow in the back from the ax; he fled to a swamp near by and died. On returning to the hut and consulting as to what course they should pursue, Seth's Henry, who had recovered, but feigned death, again sprang to his feet, caught his rifle and snapped it at one of the prisoners, ran out of the hut and disappeared. The two friends primed the remaining guns and kept vigilant watch until daylight to guard against surprise. They set out in the morning to return, but did not dare to pursue the route they came, very properly supposing there were more of the enemy in the vicinity, to whom the surviving Indian would communicate the fate of his comrades. They re-crossed the river in a bark canoe which they had used the preceding afternoon, and then directed their course for the frontier settlements. On the first night, Cowley, carried away by the excitement was deranged for hours, and his companion was fearful that his raving would betray them, but reason returned with daylight. As they had feared, a party of Indians was soon in hot pursuit—from a hill they saw ten or a dozen in the valley below; but they concealed themselves beneath a sheltering rock, and remained there one night and two days. When there an Indian dog came up to them, but after snuffing for some time, went away without barking. On the third night they saw the enemy's fires literally all around them. They suffered much from exposure to the weather, and still more from hunger, but finally arrived at a frontier settlement in Pennsylvania, and afterward returned to Schoharie, where they were welcomed as though risen from the dead. Sawyer is said to have died many years after in Williamstown, Mass., and Cowley in Albany.—*Synn's Schoharie*, 291, 2, 3.

## EXPEDITION AGAINST THE CAYUGAS.

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### MARCH OF COLONEL BUTLER ALONG THE EAST SIDE OF CAYUGA LAKE.

On the return march, when the army reached Kanadaseaga on September 20, Lieutenant Colonel Butler commanding the Fourth Pennsylvania regiment was detached with six hundred men, with orders to proceed around the north end of Cayuga lake, and devastate the country of the Cayugas on the east side of the lake. At the same time a force under Lieutenant Colonel Henry Dearborn was ordered to move along the west side, the two detachments to unite at the head of the lake and from thence to join the main army at Catharinstown.

WILLIAM BUTLER was the second of five brothers, all of whom served with distinction in the Revolution and the succeeding wars. Their names were Richard, William, Thomas, Percival and Edward. Thomas, the third brother, is said to have been born in Pennsylvania in 1754, and Richard the elder in Ireland, so that William was either born in America, or came here from Ireland when very young. He was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel October 25, 1776, on the organization of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment. Immediately after the battle of Monmouth, in which he bore an important part, his regiment and six companies of Morgan's riflemen were sent to Scholharie County, New York, where he was actively engaged in protecting the frontier settlements from the marauding parties of tories and Indians.

After the Wyoming massacre in 1778, as a part of the aggressive policy determined on by Washington, he marched to the Delaware, and descended that stream for two days, and from thence moved across the country to the Susquehanna at Unadilla in pursuit of the enemy, who fled at his approach. From here he moved down to Onoquaga, which was a well built town, with many good farm houses in the vicinity belonging to the tories, located on both sides of the river. He destroyed Onoquaga, and a Tuscarora town lower down, Conihunto eight miles above, and Unadilla, with the grist and saw mill there, the only ones in the valley, and forced the enemy to remove westward to the Chemung where they were found by Sullivan the next year. He was in garrison in the Middle fort of Schoharie during the winter, and in August, 1779, accompanied Clinton down the Susquehanna to Tioga point where he was transferred to General Hand's Brigade August 23d of that year. This was the Colonel Butler to whom General Sullivan entrusted the responsible duties of conducting this important expedition, second only in importance to that of the main army. Two journals give an account of Colonel Butler's march, viz. Thomas Grant, who appears to have been one of the surveying party under Captain Lodge, and George Grant, Sergeant Major of the Third New Jersey regiment, the latter evidently copied from some other journal.

#### PART OF THOMAS GRANT'S JOURNAL.

Sept. 20.—This day a detachment of six hundred men with a sufficiency of officers under the command of Col. Wm. Butler were sent into the Cayuga country, with which detachment I was ordered. They marched from Cannadesago at 3 o'clock P. M. Marched this day 8 miles to an Indian

town by the name of Scawyace<sup>140</sup> where about 8 acres of corn was destroyed.

Sept. 21.—The detachment marched this morning at 7 o'clock A. M. 16½ miles to a small Indian settlement<sup>141</sup> 1½ miles short of Cayuga Castle, where we encamped for the night. At 8½ miles crossed the outlet of Cayuga, which in breadth was about 70 perches, and more than middle deep to the men. Near the outlet we destroyed two Indian houses. The name of the place Choharo<sup>142</sup> and destroyed on the lake in different places \* \* \* houses and \* \* \* acres of corn, but saw no enemy. The general course since we crossed the outlet, nearly south, the road not more than half a mile from the lake at furthest, the land middling.

Sept. 22, 1679.—Marched this day at 6 o'clock A. M. 2 miles to the Cayuga Castle,<sup>143</sup> an Indian town of that name containing in number about 15 very large square log houses. I think the building superior to any yet have seen. [Here] cattle were killed and three days beef issued to the troops.

<sup>140</sup> SCAWYACE or *Long Falls*, an important Indian town of eighteen houses, located on the north bank of Seneca river at present site of Waterloo, in Seneca County. It was partially destroyed on August 8, during the advance of the army by a party of volunteers under Colonel Harper. George Grant mentions the fact of "several fish ponds abounding opposite the town." These were circular enclosures of stone from thirty to forty feet in diameter, built up on the rocky bed of the stream, where the water was neither very deep or rapid, so constructed as to permit the water to pass through, but to retain the fish.

<sup>141</sup> GEWAUGA, a small hamlet on the present site of Union Springs in the town of Springport, on the east side of Cayuga lake.

<sup>142</sup> CHOHARO.—This was the Tichero or St. Stephen of the Jesuit Relations, said to signify *the place of rushes*, located at the foot of Cayuga lake on the east side, at the exact point where the bridge of the Middle Turnpike left the east shore. The trail across the marsh followed the north bank of an ancient channel of the Seneca river, which at an early day took that course. The turnpike afterward followed substantially the line of the trail and crossed the present line of the Cayuga and Seneca canal three times between Mud Lock and the old Demont tavern on the opposite side of the marsh. The salt springs mentioned by Father Raffelx in 1672, were on the west side of the marsh about half a mile north of the N. Y. C. Rail Road bridge, and on the bank of the ancient river channel.

<sup>143</sup> CAYUGA CASTLE, an Indian town containing fifteen very large houses of squared logs, located on the south line of the town of Springport in Cayuga County, on the north bank of Great Gully brook, and from one to two miles from the lake.

The fatigue parties were sent to destroy the corn to the amount of about 110 acres, though not all destroyed this day. Two other towns were discovered, one  $23\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the Seneca Lake, which we called Upper Cayuga,<sup>144</sup> containing 14 large houses, the other about two miles east of the Castle which we called Cayuga,<sup>145</sup> containing 13 houses. The troops were all employed this day in destroying corn till after dark. We found at this town apples, peaches, potatoes, turnips, onions, pumpkins, squashes, and vegetables of various kinds and great plenty.

Sept. 23, 1779.—This day the troops were employed till 3 o'clock P. M. in finishing the destruction of the corn and burning the aforementioned towns within. Marched 5 miles to an Indian town by the name of Chandot<sup>146</sup> or Peach Town, remarkable for a large Peach orchard containing \* \* \* hundred fine thriving peach trees, likewise \* \* \* acres of corn. This town contained about 12 or 14 houses chiefly old buildings. Part of the corn was destroyed this evening.

Sept. 24, 1779.—This morning the troops were employed in finishing the destruction of the corn and peach trees. At 10 o'clock A. M. fire was set to this town and the detachment went off the ground. Marched this day  $16\frac{1}{2}$  miles and encamped on a pleasant hill<sup>147</sup> near a fine creek about one hour after dark. The land we passed this day well timbered, and the soil very good, but very scarce of water. 9 miles from Chondote we crossed a stream of water which fell over

<sup>144</sup> UPPER CAYUGA, an Indian town of fourteen very large houses located near the north line of the town of Ledyard in Cayuga County, on the south bank of Great Gully brook, and as appears on the map, between one and two miles from the lake.

<sup>145</sup> EAST CAYUGA, or *Old Town*, contained thirteen houses located in the south-east corner of the town of Springport, as indicated on the map, from three to four miles from the lake. A site in the south-west corner of Fleming was a site of this town at about this date.

<sup>146</sup> CHONDOTE, so named on Capt. Lodge's map, an Indian town of fourteen houses, on the site of present Aurora in Cayuga County; according to George Grant's journal it contained fifteen hundred peach trees.

<sup>147</sup> On the hill north of Ludlowville.

rocks 80 feet perpendicular. 3 miles from [this] we crossed a second stream<sup>148</sup> which fell about 50 feet perpendicular, which empty themselves into Cayuga lake. Saw no enemy this day. The general course S. 30° E.

Sept. 25, 1779.—Marched this morning about 6 o'clock and encamped at an Indian town 3½ miles above Cayuga Lake. The town appeared to be just consumed, supposed to be burnt by a detachment from Gen'l Sullivan's army.<sup>149</sup> The town was situated on a rising ground in a large, beautiful valley. The soil equal to or rather superior to any in the country, through which runs several fine streams of water, the first a creek about 4 poles wide, which falls from the mountain on the east side of the valley about 120 feet perpendicular into which creek three other fine streams empty, the second creek is the principal supply of the Cayuga Lake navigable for large canoes or boats to the town.

[The journal here ends abruptly ]

<sup>148</sup> The first of these falls was probably on Mill Creek, two and a half miles south-west of Northville; the second near Lake Ridge in the town of Lansing.

<sup>149</sup> CORROGONEL was burned by the detachment under Colonel Dearborn. See his account September 24, and note 161.

#### PART OF GEORGE GRANT'S JOURNAL.

Sept. 20, 1779.—I return to the 20th to follow Col. Butler, who left us at Kanadasago, and proceeded along the outlet of Seneca Lake for 8 miles and halted at Schoyerre, formerly destroyed by Col. Harper.

Sept. 21.—Early this morning a party of 200 men under the command of Maj. Scott was despatched to destroy corn, &c., the remainder with Col. Butler, proceeded on forward. Seven miles of the road was very bad, the land poor and barren, and no water. They then entered on an excellent swamp which produces fine timber, the soil exceeding rich

and fertile. This extends for 4 miles, when they reached Caiuga Lake. This they crossed at a place wading it to their breasts in water, where they halted waiting for Maj. Scott and his party. As soon as they had joined, they proceeded along the side of the lake side, the land excellent, the timber large and the country level and well watered. Came to a habitation within one mile of Caiuga town and encamped 18 miles from Scoyerre.

Sept. 22.—Marched to Caiuga<sup>150</sup> one mile distant. This town is large and commodius, consisting of 50 houses mostly well built. The party went immediately to destroying corn, &c., with which this place abounds, but the water very bad and scarce. Here was found some salt of the Indians making from the Salt Springs<sup>151</sup> which are in this country. Found several muskets here, branded with the brand of the United States; also a few Regimental coats, blue, faced with white.

Sept. 23.—The most part of the day taken up in destroying scattering towns, corn, &c., within 2 or 3 miles all around this town. About 4 o'clock marched for another town<sup>152</sup> distant 4 miles but could not learn any name for it, and here halted for the night.

Sept. 24.—This morning went to destroying corn, beans, and orchards. Destroyed about 1500 Peach Trees, besides apple trees and other fruit trees. This town consisted of 13

<sup>150</sup> Gou-o-gouen, of the Jesuit Relations, and site of the Mission of St. Joseph, called also Cayuga Castle, and the same described as three towns by Thomas Grant under the names of Cayuga Castle, fifteen houses; upper Cayuga, containing fourteen houses; and Cayuga, containing thirteen houses. The houses were very much scattered, and on both sides of Great Gully brook on the south line of the town of Springport in Cayuga County. Greenhalgh, an English trader, passed through the Cayuga country in 1677, and found them there occupying "three towns about a mile distant from each other; they are not stockaded. They do consist in all of about one hundred houses and intend next Spring to build all their houses together and stockade them. They have abundance of corn, and lie within two or three miles of lake Tichero."

<sup>151</sup> These salt springs were located on the opposite side of the river from Choharo, see note 142. Luke Swetland, a prisoner in 1778, made salt at these springs, which he says was of excellent quality.

<sup>152</sup> ЧУКОНОРЪ. See note 146.

houses. Then marched for 18 miles, the first 12 the land exceeding good, the other six not extraordinary.

Sept. 25.—Marched for 10½ miles the road mostly bad, having to ascend and descend extreme steep and difficult mountains, then through thick and difficult swamps. Passed the end of Caiuga Lake and halted at De-ho-riss-kanadia<sup>153</sup> which they found burnt and the corn partly destroyed. Here was found the Rev. Dr. Kirkland's horse, supposed to be left here by the party who destroyed the corn, &c.

Sept. 26.—Marched for 8½ miles through the Great Swamp.

Sept. 27.—Marched for 17 miles, 15 of which was through the above swamp. Most part of the way, they had to steer by the sun, there not being the least semblance of a road or path. A man of this party died suddenly.

Sept. 28.—Marched for one mile and crossed the outlet (inlet) of Caiuga Lake, and came upon ground occupied by the army on the night of the 31st of August, from there to Kanawaholee,<sup>154</sup> where they joined the main body of Sullivan's army.

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<sup>153</sup> CORROGONEL, two miles south of Ithaca, destroyed by the detachment under Col Dearborn on the 24th. See note 161.

<sup>154</sup> KANAWLOHALLA, on the site of present Elmira. See note 77.



## MARCH OF COLONEL DEARBORN ALONG THE WEST SIDE OF CAYUGA LAKE

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On the return march, after crossing the outlet of Seneca Lake east of Kanadaseaga, the army encamped on the high ground at Rose Hill, near the east shore of the lake. Here Lieutenant Colonel Henry Dearborn commanding the Third New Hampshire regiment, was detached with two hundred men and ordered to march along the west shore of Cayuga lake to co-operate with Colonel Butler in devastating the country of the Cayugas.

Colonel Dearborn was born in Hampton, N. H., in March, 1751. He was a captain at Bunker Hill, and accompanied Arnold in the march through the woods against Quebec, in which expedition he was captured. He was exchanged in 1777, and soon after was appointed Major of Scammell's regiment. At Saratoga he commanded a separate battalion under General Gates, and was afterwards at Monmouth, where he distinguished himself and the regiment by a gallant charge. In 1779 Colonel Scammell was acting as Adjutant General of the army, leaving Lieut. Colonel Dearborn in command of the regiment during Sullivan's campaign. He was at the siege of Yorktown in 1781, and afterward on garrison duty at Saratoga and West Point until 1784. He served two terms in Congress, was for eight years secretary of war under Jefferson, and in the war of 1812 was senior Major General of the army. In 1822 he was minister to Portugal, from whence he returned after two years' service, and died in Roxbury, Mass., June 6, 1829. After his death, his son, Henry

Alexander Scammel Dearborn, collected and arranged the valuable papers of his father, transcribed the journals, which extended through the entire period of the revolution, and added important historical sketches, the whole making forty-five large volumes handsomely bound in morocco, the exterior approximating in elegance to the inestimable value of the material within. On the death of the son, all of these, excepting seven volumes, were taken apart, and the contents, made up of valuable autograph letters of the revolutionary period, scattered to the four winds by a sale at public auction. The original manuscript Journal of Sullivan's campaign fell into the hands of Dr. John H. S. Fogg, of Boston. The manuscript Orderly Book of Valley Forge, was purchased by John H. Osborne, Esq., of Auburn. The seven volumes, containing no autographs, were reserved at the sale and remain intact. In one of these is the Journal kept during Sullivan's campaign, as transcribed by the son, of which the following is an extract :

PART OF COLONEL DEARBORN'S JOURNAL, 1779.

Sept. 21.—I was ordered with 200 men to proceed to the west side of the Cayuga Lake, from thence down the side of the lake to the south end, to burn and destroy such houses and corn as might be found and to intercept the Cayugas if they attempted to escape Col. Butler. At 8 o'clock I marched, proceeded an east course about 8 miles and found 3 wigwams in the woods<sup>155</sup> with some small patches of corn, squashes, water-melons and cucumbers and 15 horses which we could not take. Destroyed this village, proceeded 4 miles to the lake where we found a very pretty town of 10

<sup>155</sup> This hamlet appears to have been located on the farm of Thomas Shankwiller, near the south-east corner of lot 15 in the town of Fayette, Seneca County, probably on Sucker brook.

houses<sup>156</sup> and a considerable quantity of corn, all which we burnt. We discovered another small town about a mile above this, we likewise destroyed. This place is called Skannautenate.<sup>157</sup> After destroying this town I marched on one mile, and came to a new town<sup>158</sup> consisting of 9 houses which we destroyed, and proceeded one mile and found one large house which we set fire to, and marched 2 miles and encamped. The land we marched over this day is exceeding fine.

Sept. 22.—I marched  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour before sunrise, proceeded 5 miles and came to the ruins of a town which a part of our army burnt when it was advancing who missed their way and happened to fall in with it,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile distant found a large field of corn and 3 houses. We gathered the corn and burnt it in the houses. This town is called Swahyawana.<sup>159</sup> Moved on 5 miles and came to a wigwam with 3 squaws and one young Indian who was a cripple. I took 2 of the squaws who were about 40 years of age and marched on 3 miles and found 1 hut and a field of corn which was burnt. Went 4 miles further and encamped.

Sept. 23.—Marched at sunrise, proceeded without any path or track, or any person who was ever in this part of the

<sup>156</sup> A town of ten houses, located on the west bank of Cayuga lake at the north-east corner of the town of Fayette, in Seneca County, about a mile and a half from present Canoga village. Destroyed Sept. 21, 1779.

<sup>157</sup> SKANNAYUTENATE, a small village located about forty rods from the shore of the lake, on the south bank of Canoga creek, about half a mile north-east of present Canoga village. On the north bank of the creek, between the site of the old Indian town and the north and south road passing through Canoga, is said to be the birth-place of the renowned Seneca orator, Sagoyewatha or Red Jacket. Destroyed Sept. 21, 1779.

<sup>158</sup> NEWTOWN — An Indian village of nine houses, located on the west bank of Cayuga lake, on the Disinger farm, a mile south of present Canoga village, and directly opposite the village of Union Springs on the east side of the lake. Destroyed Sept. 21, 1779.

<sup>159</sup> SWAHYAWANA, was on the farm of Edward R. Dean, in the north-east corner of the town of Romulus, in Seneca county, on the north bank of Sinclair Hollow creek, near the shore of the lake, and almost exactly opposite the important town of Chonodote, on the east side, at site of present Aurora. Was burned September 6, by a party that wandered from the track of the main army when they passed up on the east side of the lake.

country before to guide us, and the land so horribly rough and brushy that it was difficult to advance, however with great labor and difficulty we proceeded 8 miles to the end of a long cape<sup>100</sup> which I expected was the end of the lake. We then marched off 2 or 3 miles from the lake, and went by a point of compass 8 miles to the end of the lake and encamped. This lake is 40 miles in length and from 2 to 5 miles in width, and runs nearly No. and So. parallel to the Seneca lake which is from 8 to 10 miles distant.

Sept. 24.—Marched at sunrise, proceeded 3 miles on the high land and came to an old path which led us to 2 huts and some cornfields, which we burnt. I then sent several parties in different directions to look for a large town that I had been informed was not many miles from the end of the lake. The parties found 10 or 12 scattering houses and a number of large cornfields on and near the stream that falls into the lake. After burning several fields of corn and houses they discovered the town, 3 miles from the lake, on the above mentioned stream, which contained 25 houses and is called Coreogonel<sup>101</sup> and is the capital of a small nation or

<sup>100</sup> TAGHANIC POINT, formerly known as Goodwin's Point. The bank of the lake both north and south of this, is very much cut up with ravines, and the lake shore is too rocky and precipitous for an Indian path. For several miles the trail was back two miles from the lake, along the heads of the ravines, probably passing through Hayt's corners and Ovid Centre. From this high ground the lake appears to end at Taghanic Point.

<sup>101</sup> COREOGONEL, called De-ho-riss-kanadla by George Grant, was located on the west side of Cayuga inlet, about three miles from the end of the lake, and two miles south of Ithaca. The main village was on a high ground south of the school-house on the farm of James Fleming, nearly opposite Buttermilk Falls. Several skeletons have been exhumed here within a few years, and the usual variety of relics found, such as hatchets, wampum, beads, &c. A solitary apple tree still remains, a fit memento to represent the race by which it was planted. When first known to the whites there were five boles starting from the ground, but these are now reduced to two, and are probably shoots from the original tree cut down or girdled by Dearborn. The town was destroyed September 21, 1779. At this time it contained twenty-five houses, besides ten or twelve scattered between the main village and the lake. Colonel Butler after passing up on the east side of Cayuga Lake halted here on the 25th, and found Rev. Dr. Kirkland's horse in the vicinity of the smoking ruins.

A peculiar interest is attached to this locality and village, from the fact that here the representatives of a once powerful people, sought to preserve for a brief period, the last

tribe. My party was employed from 9 till sunset in destroying the town and corn. I expected to have met Col. Butler with his party at this town.

Sept. 25.—Marched at sunrise for Catherine's Town, where I was ordered to join the main army. Proceeded a due west

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remaining spark of a council fire that from time immemorial had burned brilliantly in the presence of assembled nations, numbering their warriors by thousands. They were called by the Iroquois *TODEVIGHROONES*, one of the tribes known to the English as Catawbas, sometimes called Saponies. They formerly resided between the Potomac and Roanoke rivers, east of the Alleghanies. A most inveterate hostile feeling existed between them and the Iroquois, which reached back to near the middle of the seventeenth century. A peace was arranged as early as 1685, through negotiations with the government of Virginia, and again what was expected to be a "lasting peace" and firm alliance, was concluded in 1714, but in the night after the close of the council, the Iroquois deputies, while reposing in fancied security were treacherously murdered while asleep. This aroused the Iroquois to vengeance, and the war was renewed with unexampled ferocity, with a determination to totally extirpate the base, faithless and treacherous people. In 1717 through the intercession of Governor Hunter, at the request of Governor Spotswood of Virginia, a truce was arranged, and in 1722 delegates from the Five Nations met Governor Spotswood at Albany to conclude what was to be an "everlasting peace," in which the Iroquois bound themselves not to cross the Potomac or go over the Alleghanies, without a passport from the Governor of New York. Governor Spotswood engaging that the tribes in his locality should not pass to the north or west of same lines. The tribes mentioned by the Governor were the "NOTTOWATS, MEHERINS, NANSERMONDS, PAMUNKEYS, CHICOHOMINYs, and the CHRISTANNA INDIANS whom you call *TODERICHROONES*," and others—in all, ten nations. This council was conducted with great formality, and valuable presents were presented, among which were a "*fine coronet*" and a "*gold horse shoe*" with an inscription. In 1738 they were again at war, and in 1742 at peace. In 1751 Governor Clinton says "the Governor of South Carolina sent six chiefs of the Catawbas, to make peace with the Five Nations," and says that "they had been at war as long as any one in this country can remember." In 1753 Sir William Johnson mentions the fact that the Cayugas "*are about to strengthen their castle by taking in the TEDAIGHROONES*." In the same year they are mentioned as attending a conference at Mt. Johnson and are described as "one of the nine confederate nations." The town is indicated at the head of Cayuga lake on the Guy Johnson map of 1771, in the same position where it was found by Colonel Dearborn in 1779, under the name of *TODEVIGHRONO*, the name of the people. In 1750 Zeisberger, the Moravian missionary, passed through this valley while on his way to visit the Cayugas, but makes no mention of an Indian village in the vicinity. Undoubtedly they settled there in the summer of 1753. Their cleared fields were found on the present site of Ithaca on the first settlement of the country by the whites and were the first lands occupied in the county. The town is indicated but not named on the map of Mr. Lodge, the surveyor who accompanied Colonel Butler's detachment. To stand on the identical spot from which this people sunk into oblivion, appeared like standing on the grave of a nation. Their history, the beginning of which extends far back into the unknown and unattainable, ends where that of civilization begins, and adds another name to the long list of extinguished nationalities that preceded us in sovereignty. Here their council fire, fanned by the last expiring breath of a once brave and numerous people, was extinguished forever.

course over a very rough, mountainous country 18 miles, and at 4 o'clock reached the town, but the army was gone forward. Advanced 6 miles in what is called the Bear Swamp and encamped.

Sept. 26.—Marched at sunrise and at 12 o'clock joined the main army at Kanawahola which is 4 miles from where we fought the enemy on the 29th of August. The army had a day of rejoicing here in consequence from the news of Spain.

Sept. 27.—Some detachments were sent up the Teago river to destroy such houses and corn fields as they might find.

Sept. 28.—The same parties that were sent out yesterday were sent again further up the river to destroy a Tory settlement which was discovered yesterday, and a large detachment was sent off to complete the destruction of the corn, &c., at and about New Town. At 12 o'clock Col. Butler and his party arrived in Camp. In their route round the lake they destroyed several towns and a vast quantity of corn.

## RECAPITULATION.

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### INDIAN TOWNS DESTROYED IN SULLIVAN'S CAMPAIGN, 1779.

1. **NEWTYCHANNING**, an Indian town of about 20 houses, located on the west side of the Susquehanna, near North Towanda, Bradford County, Pa. Destroyed by Col. Proctor, Aug. 8, 1779. See note 60.

2. **OLD CHEMUNG**, an Indian town partially abandoned, located on the north bank of Chemung river, half a mile above present Chemung village. Destroyed Aug. 13, 1779. See note 66.

3. **NEW CHEMUNG**, an Indian town of fifty or sixty houses, located on the left bank of the Chemung river, three miles above the present village of Chemung, in Chemung County. Destroyed Aug. 13, 1779. See note 66.

4. **NEWTOWN**, an Indian town of about 20 houses, located on the north bank of Chemung river, five miles below Elmira. It gave the name to the battle fought near it Aug. 29, 1779. Destroyed August 31, 1779. See note 74.

5. A village of 20 to 30 new houses, located on both sides of Baldwin's creek, about a mile and a half from Chemung river, at the exact point where Gen. Poor commenced the ascent of the hill. Destroyed Aug. 29, 1779. See note 74.

6. A small village on Baldwin's creek, near the works of the enemy, at Newtown, the timbers of which were used in the construction of the fortifications. See note 74.

7. A small village on Seely creek, near present Southport, south of Elmira. Destroyed Aug. 30, 1779. See note 74.

8. ALBOUT, a Scotch, tory settlement on the east side the Unadilla, about five miles above Unadilla. Burned August 12, 1779, by Gen. Clinton. See note 129.

9. SHAWHIANGTO, a small Tuscarora town, four miles below Onoquago, of ten or twelve houses, located on the west side of the Susquehanna, near present Windsor, in Broome County. Burned August 17, 1779, by Gen. Clinton. See note 134.

10. INGAREN, a Tuscarora town of five or six houses, sometimes called Tuscarora, at Great Bend, Susquehanna county, Penn. Destroyed Aug. 17, 1779, by Gen. Clinton. See note 135.

11. OTSININGO or *Chenango*, an important Indian town abandoned and destroyed by the Indians in the winter of 1778-9, located four miles north of Binghamton in Broome County. See note 136.

12. CHOCONUT, or *Chugnut*, an important Indian town of fifty or sixty houses mostly on the south side of the Susquehanna river, at the mouth of Big Choconut creek, in Broome County. Destroyed by Gen. Poor Aug. 19, 1779. See note 137.

13. OWAGEA, an Indian town of about twenty houses, on Owego creek, about a mile from the Susquehanna river, in the north part of present Owego,—was a small hamlet, also near the river. Destroyed August 19, 1779. See note 138.

14. MANCKATAWANGUM, or *Red Bank*,—an Indian town on the south side of the Susquehanna river, nearly opposite the present village of Barton, in Tioga county,—near Fitzgerald's Farm, according to Beatty. See note 139.



General Sullivan under date of Aug. 30th, says: "The number of Indian towns destroyed since the commencement of the expedition, including those burnt by General Clinton previous to the junction, is, I think, fourteen, some of them considerable, others inconsiderable."

15. MIDDLETOWN, an Indian hamlet of eight houses, located on the north bank of Chemung river, between Newtown and present Elmira. Destroyed Aug. 31, 1779. See note 77.

16. KANAWLOHALLA or *Canaweola*, on the site of present Elmira in Chemung county. George Grant says it contained twenty houses. This was the site of Fort Reid. Destroyed while the army was on the march, August 31, 1779. See note 77.

17. BIG FLATS, on the north bank of Chemung river, eight miles above present Elmira. An early French map calls a village at this point Runonvea. Destroyed by a detachment under Col. Dayton Aug. 31, 1779. See note 77.

18. SHEQUAGA, or *Catharine's Town*, an Indian village of thirty houses, located on the site of present Havana in Schuylers County. Destroyed Sept. 2, 1779. See note 78.

19. PEACH ORCHARD, an Indian town of an unknown name on the site of present Peach Orchard, ten miles north of Havana, on east shore of Seneca lake. Destroyed Sept. 3, 1779. See note 79.

20. CONDAWHAW, a small Indian town on the east shore of Seneca lake, at present site of North Hector, so called by Luke Swetland in 1778. Destroyed Sept. 4, 1779. See note 80.

21. KENDAIA, or *Appletown*, located on lot 79, Romulus, on the east side of Seneca lake. It contained about twenty houses. Destroyed Sept. 6, 1779. See note 81.

22. BUTLER'S BUILDINGS, so called, consisting of a few buildings, located near present canal bridge in the village of Geneva. Destroyed while on the march Sept. 7, 1779. See note 84.

23. KANADASEAGA, *the grand village*, and capital of the Senecas, located one and a half miles north-west of present Geneva. It contained about sixty well built houses. Destroyed Sept. 9, 1779. See note 84.

24. GOTHSEUNGQUEAN or *Shenanwaga*, a village of twenty houses located on both sides of Kershong creek, near the west shore of Seneca lake, seven miles south of Geneva. Destroyed by a detachment under Major Parr, Sept. 8, 1779. See note 84.

25. KANANDAIGUA, an Indian town of twenty-three houses, located about a mile from the lake, in west part of present village of Canandaigua. Destroyed Sept. 10, 1779. See note 86.

26. HANNEYAYE, an Indian town of twenty houses, located at foot of Honeoye lake, east of the outlet. One house was occupied as a fort by Capt. Cummings. Destroyed Sept. 11, 1779. See note 87.

27. KANAGHSAWS, also called *Adjutoa*, an Indian town of eighteen houses located three-fourths of a mile south-east of the head of Conesus lake on the farm of Dr. McMillen. Destroyed September 13, 1779. See note 89.

28. GATHSEGWAROHARE or *Cassawauloughly*, an important Indian town of twenty-five houses, located on the east side of Canaseraga creek, about two miles from its confluence with the Genesee, at the "Hermitage," formerly owned by Judge Caroll. Destroyed Sept. 14, 1779. See note 93.

29. CHENANDOANES or *Great Genesee Castle*, sometimes called Little Beard's Town,—contained one hundred and

twenty-eight houses, located on the west side of Genesee river, mostly on the north side of Beard's creek, north-east of Cuylerville. Destroyed Sept. 15, 1779. See note 95.

TOWNS DESTROYED BY LIEUT. COL. BUTLER.

30. SCAWYAGE, or *Long Falls*, an important Indian town on the north bank of the Seneca river on present site of Waterloo, in Seneca County,—was partially destroyed by a volunteer force under Col. Harper, Sept. 8, 1779,—destruction completed Sept. 21, by Major Scott, of Colonel Butler's detachment. See note 140.

31. CHO HARO, a hamlet of two houses at the foot of Cayuga lake, where Colonel Butler's detachment forded the river. This was the ancient Tichero of the Jesuit Relations. Destroyed Sept. 21, by Colonel Butler. See note 142.

32. GEWAUGA, a small hamlet located on the east side of Cayuga lake, on the site of present Union Springs in Cayuga County. Destroyed Sept. 22, 1779. See note 141.

33. GOIOGOUEN, of the Jesuit Relations, made up of three separate towns, viz :

(1). CAYUGA CASTLE, containing fifteen very large houses built of squared logs, located near the south line of the town of Springport in Cayuga County, on the north bank of Great Gully Brook, from one to two miles from the lake. See note 143.

(2). EAST CAYUGA, OLD TOWN, containing thirteen houses, located in the south-east corner of the town of Springport, from three to four miles from Cayuga lake. A site in the south-west corner of Fleming, was probably a site of this clan. Destroyed Sept. 22. See note 145.

(3). UPPER CAYUGA, containing fourteen large houses, located near the north line of the town of Ledyard in Cayuga County, on the south bank of Great Gully Brook, from one to two miles from Cayuga Lake. Destroyed Sept. 22. See note 144.

George Grant describes the three preceding towns as one town containing fifty houses, with many scattering towns within two or three miles. Gen. Sullivan's official report says that "Colonel Butler destroyed five principal towns and a number of scattering houses,—the whole making about one hundred in number." Capt. Lodge's Map designates three towns by name.

34. CHONODOTE or *Peach Tree Town*, also called Chandot, a town containing fourteen houses, located on the site of pres-

ent Aurora, in Cayuga County. This town contained 1500 peach trees. Destroyed Sept. 24th by the detachment under Col. William Butler. See note 146.

TOWNS DESTROYED BY LIEUT. COL. DEARBORN.

35. A small hamlet of three houses, on the Shankwiller farm, in town of Fayette, Seneca County, four miles from Cayuga lake. Destroyed by Colonel Dearborn Sept. 21. See note 155.

36. A small town of ten buildings on the west shore of Cayuga lake, one mile north of Canoga Creek. Destroyed by Col. Dearborn's detachment Sept. 21, 1779. See note 156.

37. SKANNAYUTENATE, an Indian village of ten houses, located on the south bank of Canoga creek, on the west shore of Cayuga lake, a half mile north-east of Canoga village in Seneca County. Destroyed by Lieut. Col. Dearborn Sept. 21, 1779. See note 157.

38. NEWTOWN, an Indian village of nine houses, located one mile south-east of village of Canoga, on the west shore of Cayuga lake, a mile south of Skannayutenate. Destroyed Sept. 21, 1779 by Lieut. Col. Dearborn. See note 158.

39. SWAHYAWANA, an Indian town located on the west shore of Cayuga lake, on the farm of Edward R. Dean, in the north-east corner of the town of Romulus in Seneca County. Destroyed Sept. 22, 1779, by Lieut. Col. Henry Dearborn. See note 159.

40. COREORGONEL, an important Indian town of twenty-five houses, located on the west side of Cayuga inlet, about two miles south of Ithaca, and three miles from the head of Cayuga lake. It appears as Todevighrono, the name of the tribe on the Guy Johnson Map of 1771. Destroyed by the detachment under Lieut. Col. Dearborn Sept. 24, 1779. See note 161.

## LIST OF JOURNALS.

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The following Journals are those of officers actively engaged in Sullivan's campaign :

I.—ANONYMOUS. From June 18 to Sept. 13, 1779. Printed in Hill's *New Hampshire Patriot*, at Portsmouth, September 16, 1843. An imperfect copy of Norris' *Journal*, with several omissions, and many important errors.

II.—BARTON, WILLIAM, Lieutenant in the Jersey Brigade. From June 8 to October 9, 1779. Published in the *Transactions of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Vol. II, 1846-7, p. 22.

III.—BEATTY, ERKURIES, Lieutenant in the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment. From June 11 to October 22, 1779, in Sullivan's Campaign. Also from April 6 to April 29 of same year in the campaign against the Onondagas. The original manuscript in the Archives of the New York Historical Society. Has never been published.

IV.—BLAKE, THOMAS, Lieutenant in Second New Hampshire Regiment. From May 19 to October 15, 1779. Published in Ridder's *History of the First New Hampshire Regiment*.

V.—CAMPFIELD, JABEZ, Surgeon in Spencer's Fifth New Jersey Regiment. From May 23 to October 2, 1779. Published in the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 1873, pp. 115 to 136, from the original presented to the Society by Edmund D. Halsey.

VI.—DEARBORN, HENRY, Lieutenant Colonel commanding the Third New Hampshire Regiment. From June 16 to October 15, 1779; transcribed from the original by his son, General Henry A. S. Dearborn. This copy in charge of Colonel C. G. Thornton, of Madison, Wisconsin, executor of the Dearborn estate. The original manuscript of Henry Dearborn is in the hands of John S. Fogg, Esq., of Boston, Mass.

VII.—ELMER, EBENEZER, Surgeon in Second New Jersey Regiment. From June 18 to August 14, 1779. The original manuscript in the Archives of the New Jersey Historical Society. Extracts were published in the Transactions of the Society in 1846-7.

VIII.—FELLOWS, MOSES, Sergeant in the Third New Hampshire Regiment. From July 22 to September 20, 1779. The original in possession of A. Tiffany Norton, Esq., of Lima, N. Y.

IX.—GOOKIN, DANIEL, Ensign in Second New Hampshire Regiment. From May 4 to September 5, 1779. Published in the New England Hist. and Gen'l Register for January, 1862.

X.—GRANT, GEORGE, Sergeant Major in the Third New Jersey Regiment. From May 17 to November 3, 1779. Published in Hazard's Register (Pa.) Vol. 14, pp. 72-76.

XI.—GRANT, THOMAS, appears from the Journal to have been one of the surveying party under Captain Lodge, who accompanied the army from Easton and with chain and compass, surveyed the entire route to the Genesee river. From July 31 to September 25, 1779. Published in the Historical Magazine for August and September, 1862.

XII.—HARDENBERGH, JOHN L., Lieutenant in Colonel Van Cortlandt's Second New York Regiment. From May 1 to October 23, 1779. The original manuscript in posses-

sion of the Hardenbergh family in Auburn. Published by the Cayuga County Historical Society, 1879.

XIII.—HUBLEY, ADAM, Colonel of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment. From July 31 to October 7, 1779. Published in Miner's History of Wyoming. Appendix, 1845. The original contained several illustrations, and maps of encampments, not in the published copy.

XIV.—JENKINS, JOHN, Lieutenant and guide in the expedition. From June 5, 1778, to March 17, 1781. The original manuscript in the hands of his grandson, Hon. Steuben Jenkins, of Wyoming, Pa. It has never been published.

XV.—LIVERMORE, DANIEL, Captain in the Third New Hampshire Regiment. From May 17 to December 7, 1779. Published in the New Hampshire Historical Collections, Vol. VI, pp. 308-335.

XVI.—MACHIN, THOMAS, Captain in Col. John Lamb's Second Regiment (N. Y.) Artillery. From April 19 to 23, 1779, in Colonel Van Schaick's expedition against the Onondagas. Published in the Magazine of American History, November, 1879. Communicated by F. H. Roof.

XVII.—NUKERCK, CHARLES, Lieutenant and Captain in Colonel Van Cortlandt's Second New York Regiment. From May 1, 1779, to December 11, 1780. Captain (afterward Colonel) Nukerek was born in Hurley, Ulster County, New York. In 1776 he was serving as Second Lieutenant in Colonel Ritzema's 3d New York Regiment, organized to garrison the forts southward of Crown Point. Under the call of September 16, 1776, he entered the Second New York Regiment *to serve during the war*, and continued with that regiment as Lieutenant and Captain until the consolidation of the five New York regiments into two in December, 1780,

when he was assigned to the class of deranged officers, and continued in service to the close of the war. He afterward settled at Palatine Church, in the Mohawk Valley, where he died greatly respected in November, 1822.

This Journal has had a somewhat interesting history. A portion of it appeared in 1831 in Campbell's Annals of Tryon County, as "extracts from the manuscript Journal of an officer," but without giving the author's name. Extracts have also appeared from time to time in the writings of the late Thomas Maxwell of Elmira, as the Journal of Colonel Gansevoort. In Colonel Stone's Life of Brant, 1838, Introduction p. xxiii, he says "the author has likewise been favored with the manuscript diary of the venerable Captain Theodosius Fowler of this city, who was an active officer during the whole campaign. In addition to the valuable memoranda contained in this diary, Capt. Fowler has preserved a drawing of the Order of March \* \* \* and a plan of the *great battle fought at Newtown*, both of which drawings have been engraved, and will be found in the Appendix." In the body of the work he incorporates the text as found in Campbell's Annals, including several interpolations from Seaver's Life of Mary Jemison, which appear in the Annals as *quoted*, but in Colonel Stone's work as *part of the original Journal*. At page 18, Vol. II. appears the "Order of March" and "Order of Battle," the latter having no reference whatever to the battle of Newtown, it being nothing more than the general order of battle prescribed at the beginning of the campaign. After the death of Colonel Stone, the original manuscript fell into the hands of that distinguished scholar, Dr. Lyman C. Draper, Secretary of Wisconsin Historical Society, who purchased it at the sale in a bound volume of manuscripts. In June, 1879, he placed it in my hands for examination and directed my attention to the fact, of its unquestionable identity with the many fragments ascribed to Captain Fowler and others. The Journal is substantially a history of the movements of the Second regiment from the date of the first entry to the time of the consolidation in 1780, when it closes. It contains abundant evidence to warrant the conclusion that it must have been written by an officer of that regiment. This appears effectually to dispose of the claims of the supposed authorship of Captain Fowler, as he was made Captain of the First New York June 21, 1778, and continued in service with that regiment until the consolidation 1780, when he was assigned to the new New York Second, and continued in that position to the close of the war. It is highly probable that Captain Fowler was on duty with his regiment, which remained to guard the Mohawk Valley during Sullivan's campaign, and consequently could not have participated in the westward march, and if the author of a Journal it certainly cannot be the one in question, which beyond any doubt was written by an officer actively engaged in the main expedition. A careful examination of the manuscript disclosed the fact that unmistakably it is the hand writing of Captain Nukerck, and presumably his Journal. On being advised of this fact Dr. Draper addressed a note to Mrs. Miller, of Englewood, N. J., a granddaughter of Captain Nukerck, who answered "that she remembered distinctly, that her father loaned to Mr. Campbell the Diary of her grandfather relating to Sullivan's Campaign, and that afterward it was loaned to an agent of Colonel Stone, who failed to return it." The manuscript is in an excellent state of preservation, every word from beginning to end being plain and distinct, especially the proper names. It contains several maps indicating the line of march and encampments, and at the end a single leaf is missing, probably the order of march and order of battle, mentioned by Colonel Stone.



XVIII.—NORRIS, JAMES, Captain in the Third New Hampshire Regiment. From June 18 to October 25, 1779. Original manuscript in the Archives of the Buffalo Historical Society, N. Y. Published in July, 1879, Vol. I, No. 7, of the Publications of that Society, by Bigelow Brothers, Buffalo, N. Y.

XIX.—ROGERS, WILLIAM, D. D., Chaplain in Hand's Brigade. From June 15 to August 29, 1779. Published with notes and Biography, No. 7 of the Rhode Island Historical Tracts by Sidney S. Rider, Providence, R. I., 1879.

XX.—ROGERS, WILLIAM, Quartermaster Sergeant in Malcolm's N. Y. Regiment in 1777, but in 1779 appears to have belonged to the Second New York. From April 5 to September 14, 1779, contains names of places, dates, and distances. The original manuscript in the hands of B. L. Rogers, Newark, N. J.

XXI.—SHUTE, SAMUEL MOORE, Lieutenant in Second New Jersey Regiment. From May 29 to November 9, 1779. The original manuscript in possession of William Shute, of Doylestown, Pa.

XXII.—VAN HOVENBERG, RUDOLPH, Lieutenant in Colonel Du Bois' Fifth New York Regiment. From June 16, 1779, to November 24, 1780. He accompanied General Clinton down the Susquehanna. Has never been published.

XXIII.—WEBB, NATHANIEL, an officer in the Second New York Regiment. His son, Dr. Ezekiel Webb, had the original in September, 1855, at which time a part was published in the Elmira Daily Republican.

[The following Journals were once in existence, but diligent inquiry has failed to bring them to light:]

XXIV.—DEAN, JUDGE JAMES, the well known interpreter, and first Judge of Herkimer County, N. Y.

XXV.—PIERCE, WILLIAM, Captain in Colonel Harfison's Regiment of artillery, First A. D. C. to General Sullivan.

XXVI.—HOOPS, ADAM, Major, Third A. D. C. to General Sullivan. "The facts concerning Van Campen and Boyd are taken from a part of a copy of *my journal* which had been copied from that of Major William Pierce."—Letter Sept. 18, 1841, p. 180 Sullivan's Campaign.

XXVII.—PRINCE, KIMBALL, Sergeant Major in the Artillery. His diary was in possession of his son Frederick Prince as late as 1822, but was then stolen from a trunk during the ravages of the yellow fever in New York City.

XXVIII.—NEWMAN — Referred to in Miner's History of Wyoming. Supposed to have been destroyed by fire in the office of the Record of the Times at Wilkesbarre, Pa., April 9, 1869.

[The following narratives have been written by parties actively engaged in the campaign. Some are valuable, others are untrustworthy, and well calculated to mislead:]

XXIX.—DAVIS, NATHAN. Private in the First New Hampshire Regiment. Published in the Historical Magazine, April, 1868, p. 198.

XXX.—GANO, REV. JOHN, Chaplain in Clinton's Brigade. Published in the Historical Magazine, November, 1861, p. 330.

XXXI.—SALMON, JOHN. Published in Seaver's Life of Mary Jemison.

XXXII.—VAN CAMPEN, MOSES. Appears in a memorial to Congress for a pension.

XXXIII.—VAN CORTLANDT, PHILIP, Colonel commanding Second New York Regiment. Autobiography written

in 1825. Published in full in *Magazine of American History*, May, 1878.

XXXIV.—MAXWELL, Major. Published in Vol. VII of the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, p. 97.

XXXV.—LODGE, CAPT. BENJAMIN was in charge of a party that accompanied the army from Easton, and with compass and chain surveyed the entire route to the Genesee river. On the return march, commencing at Kanadaseaga, the party accompanied Colonel Butler and made a like survey along the east side of Cayuga Lake, connecting with the main line near present Horseheads. But one section of the map has been found, and that was among the papers of Captain Machin, an artillery officer. The original is now in the hands of J. R. Symms, Esq., of Fort Plain, N. Y. Several parties have photographic copies. This section extends north of Tioga Point and west as far as Kanadaseaga.

In addition to the preceding, is the correspondence and instructions of General Washington; General Sullivan's Official Reports; many valuable letters from General James Clinton; and undoubtedly many journals will be added to those already known, now that the attention of the public has been directed to the revolutionary period, and especially to the Campaign of 1779.







CAYUGA COUNTY  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
COLLECTIONS  
NUMBER TWO.





CAYUGA COUNTY

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COLLECTIONS  
OF  
CAYUGA COUNTY  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

AUBURN, N. Y.

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NUMBER TWO.

1882.



FOURTH AND FIFTH  
ANNUAL ADDRESSES.

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Historical Sketch of Friends

IN CAYUGA COUNTY, N. Y.

---

INVENTORS AND INVENTIONS

OF CAYUGA COUNTY, N. Y.

*WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND SUPPLEMENT.*

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AUBURN, N. Y.

1882.

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FOURTH ANNUAL ADDRESS,

BY CHARLES HAWLEY, D. D.

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FEBRUARY 8TH, 1881.





## ADDRESS.

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It is to History, in regard to dignity and authority, that Lord Bacon assigns the pre-eminent place among human writings. "For, to its fidelity are intrusted the examples of our ancestors; the vicissitudes of things; the foundations of civil policy and the name and reputation of men." "But," he adds, "the difficulty is no less than the dignity. For to carry the mind in writing into the past and bring it into sympathy with antiquity; diligently to examine; freely and faithfully to report, and by the light of words to place, as it were, before the eyes, the revolutions of time; the characters of persons; the courses and currents of actions, is a task of great labor and judgment, rather because in ancient transactions the truth is difficult to ascertain, and in modern, it is dangerous to tell."

All that is here said of the dignity and difficulty attending historical memoirs, applies with force to the purposes of our organization; for it is only as local history is ample and accurate that the material exists, to give general history either dignity or value. It is, moreover, no easy task, as I hardly need remind you, to keep up a vigorous historical society, especially in a community so youthful, comparatively, as our own—not yet having completed its first century. We may have been too busy making history to think much of collecting its annals, and too near, perhaps, the generation that opened for us through the wilderness the path of civilization, fully to appreciate their work.

impulse to better their condition, began to find their way thither from the Eastern States and the Eastern portion of this State; and soon neighborhoods are formed and compacted, followed by villages as centers of trade and the arts of life; and these, where fortunately located with facilities for growth, becoming prosperous cities, until the whole scene changes from semi-barbarous life to cultured and progressive society.

The difference in some aspects is great. There is an indescribable fascination at this distance of time in the story of pioneer life, often as it may be rehearsed. Its dangers, privations and hardships over against the security and comfort and plenty in which we dwell, invest it with a romantic, often heroic interest. The contrast it presents to all modern improvement in the face of the country; in dwellings, churches, public buildings, stores, manufactories and whole social and industrial economy, is very wide. But in all that makes up the ground work of life, they stood on the same footing on which we stand to-day. They were as happy, as contented, and as successful, in their straitened conditions, as are the people who succeed them. That they were wiser or more virtuous, is not to be claimed. The vague impression sometimes cherished of the superior goodness of a past generation, is one which a closer knowledge often dissipates, and we learn that human nature retains its characteristics amid all external changes. The more we know of what has been, the more pertinent the advice of the wise man: "Say not then, what is the cause that the former days are better than these; for thou dost not enquire wisely concerning this." The people of former days lived and acted in their circumstances, very much like the people of the present day. If they appear to have practiced the more homely and frugal virtues to our disparagement, I am disposed to think it was from necessity rather than choice. They were as extravagant in all direc-

tions as their means would permit. They sought pleasure and personal gratification by the methods open to them. They were no more temperate or self-denying, no more strict in their morals or piety than the same classes of persons now. They were open to aspersions among themselves for their pride and ostentation and factitious social distinctions, quite like those to which we are accustomed.

A curious instance of this I find in a pamphlet which recently fell into my hands, printed by an indignant citizen of Auburn in the year 1828, some fifty-three years ago. It is a vigorous protest at what the writer deemed a most unjust abridgement of the liberty of speech, because he was not permitted on occasions of public worship, to ventilate some very sincere though singular opinions. After repeated attempts at such interruption of religious service, from which he could not be persuaded to desist, he was arrested and convicted in a civil court, though for prudential reasons the penalty for the offence was not exacted. In his appeal to the public against the rank injustice, he is very severe upon both the churches and ministers for their gross departure from the simplicity of Gospel truth and Christian life,—notably St. Peter's, then under the rectorship of the gentle and scholarly Dr. Rudd, and the First Presbyterian still favored with the pastorate of the fervid and eloquent Dr. Lansing. He arraigns these two congregations, before the bar of public opinion on several distinct charges; but what is particularly noticeable is the onslaught he makes upon their “pompous, costly and gorgeous church edifices; furnished with luxurious and unseemly extravagance, shutting out the poor, and even driving them into dissipation and infidelity;” and last of all upon the profane intrusion of choir singing in divine worship with tunes more fitting the stage than the house of God. Indeed, thought I, while reading these things, and more of the same sort, are these the good

old days of pious simplicity I have heard so much about, and from which we have so far degenerated? It sounded so much like an echo of the talk of to-day, that I confess it was some relief to know that church extravagance with fashionable, operatic church music, did not originate with this wayward generation, but belonged likewise to those gracious times!

In truth, all these things are to be judged relatively to time and circumstance, while a just comparison drawn between the Auburn of 1828 and the Auburn of 1881, would not only show what is so patent to all, this increase of material prosperity, but reveal at the same time a substantial improvement even in those aspects in which modern society is thought to be most open to criticism.

I met, only the other day, with an article in an English review, which illustrates in this precise way, social progress in this country. The writer is an American who has spent the large part of his life abroad, and on revisiting his native New England village, compares its present condition with his memories of it fifty years ago. He reproduces with a picturesque vividness, the quaint little town, built on two streets which crossed at right angles, giving it the name of "The Four Corners," with its rival church edifices, two in number, and both innocent of comfort, much less of luxury; its small one story district school house, and more stately academy; its ugly, yellow-painted town house, where all matters of local government and general politics were discussed and settled, and its taverns and miscellaneous stores, where citizens commonly spent their evenings to talk and drink over the events of the day. Drinking was universal, and liquor selling the most profitable branch of business. Nothing could be done without the aid of rum, not even the holding of an ecclesiastical conference as the old account books show, without a plentiful supply. The annual militia muster which combined the pomp of war with the gaiety of a

holiday, was the principal amusement. The people lived very plainly ; were industrious and frugal if not temperate, while there was an educated class, who would have done honor to the most cultivated society of the time.

This was the village as pictured in the memory of the non-resident American, who returns a half a century later, to find it a thriving railway centre, its streets adorned with choice shade trees and lighted with gas ; its dwellings and public buildings greatly improved in comfort and architecture, with no signs of poverty, but apparent thrift every where and comparative luxury. There was not a liquor shop in the town, but instead a savings bank, a free public library, several literary societies, with stated courses of popular and scientific lectures. Religion and culture had kept pace with material progress and the change from fifty years before, was as striking as it is suggestive.

But what makes the testimony of this writer the more interesting is, that to him, his native village was only an illustration of similar changes which met him every where, indicating the social progress of the country within that period, the exceptional instances being largely due to foreign ideas, customs and influences, the tendency of which is to bring down the general standing of intelligence and morals.

The value of our historical literature, as I have said, depends on its fidelity to truth. The narrative may be colored by prejudice, without violence to the facts. The coloring will be easily detected ; and the philosophy can be separated from the substance of the history. I know of nothing more readable or trustworthy in natural history than the facts which Mr. Darwin has gathered and arranged out of the life and habit of the whole animal kingdom to sustain his peculiar theory of evolution. But though I confide in the candor and fidelity to existing facts, characteristic of that eminent naturalist, must I therefore accept his theory

of the origin of man? We know beforehand that it is not the matter-of-fact world, whither the novelist or the dramatist would take us as we surrender to the fascination; but an ideal world into which his imagination transports, us and we enjoy the excursion the more for that very reason. History is separated from Romance by sharp and rigid lines; and these are becoming more and more distinct. The ready belief once accorded to whatever assumed the dignity of historical narrative, has passed away. Much of the earlier Grecian and Roman history proves to be legendary and fabulous. It is not very long since the story of Romulus was scarcely less questioned in our schools, than the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, or the Declaration of Independence. All ancient historical writers once stood upon the same footing and were regarded as equally credible. All parts of the same author were supposed to rest upon the same authority. A blind, indiscriminate faith,—acquiescence rather than belief—embraced equally and impartially the whole range of ancient story, setting aside perhaps those prodigies which passed for embellishment to relieve the otherwise tedious narrative.

But all this is changed. The present century, if it did not give birth to, has largely developed, a new science, the science of historical criticism which has revolutionized the study and whole groundwork of history. It has reversed at many points the views once held of the nations and races of the ancient world. A new antiquity may be said to have been reared out of the old; and while very much that was unreal has vanished at the touch of the critic's wand, a fresh revelation has taken its place. I would not say that the destructive criticism which has made havoc with long accepted beliefs, has not erred on that side. The tendency, as is quite natural, has doubtless been to the extreme, where there was so much rubbish to be cleared away. But this is a tendency

which takes care of itself in the long run; and the new fabric with fairer proportions and firmer foundations is sure to rise out of the fragments of discarded systems whether of philosophy or fact.

The spirit of critical inquiry, however, is just now most active in archæological research, involving the distribution of races over the globe, relative priority of occupation and so the antiquity and origin of man. On such a broad and obscure field of investigation, and entered upon so recently, we must wait with patience for definite results. Some startling opinions have from time to time been given out with no little assurance, which later developments have shown were hasty if not groundless. Nothing has as yet been brought to light which justifies the belief that man existed prior to the human period as defined in the first chapters of Genesis, confessedly the most ancient writing in the world, and which as Bunsen says, has no appearance of exaggerating its own antiquity. Assuming that it gives the true origin of man, there was no need of interminable ages for his development; and the children of the men who built the ark and the tower of Babel could build Thebes, Memphis, and the Pyramids, within the time which the received chronology allows between the flood and the era of these monuments. As early in the book of Genesis as the fourth chapter, mention is made of the invention of instruments of music, of artificers in brass and iron, and certainly such a structure as the Ark is described to have been, implies an advanced state of the mechanical arts. The immediate descendants of Noah, built cities and founded mighty empires. The men of Shinar knew how to build stupendous fabrics of brick and mortar. If then we receive this Book of Genesis as a true though concise history of the antediluvian world, we have the data to account for the early development of human art, without recourse to undefined and fabulous ages in which man crept



from kinship with the brute, to dominion over the earth. The theory that the human race began its existence at the lowest stage of barbarism, is neither demanded nor warranted by any known facts. On the other hand, the evidence is, that barbarism, wherever found, is a decline from a previous state of civilization.

The most remote races whose history can only be gathered from their graves, their habitations and implements, by no means indicate primitive man to have been the rude creature some would make him. The pre-historic men, of whom we know any thing, appear to have been the superiors in physical structure, and mental power, if the skull is any measure of comparison, and in the arts of life, to some later peoples, whose history is known. The oldest human skulls as yet found are among the largest, and indicate if not a highly cultivated, certainly a powerful race of men, confirming the earliest scripture records that there were giants in those days; and may, for all evidence to the contrary, belong to no older period than the antediluvian times when "the wickedness of man was exceeding great upon the earth." All this is against the idea of a progressive development of man from an inferior origin.

It would appear, moreover, that the same general features belong to this pre-historic civilization, wherever it is traced in any part of the world. Similar implements, weapons and utensils of the same materials and general style of manufacture, indicate its general supremacy. In modes of architecture for dwellings and for military defence, the differences are no greater than those which now belong, in the same regard, to essentially the same grades of civilized life. The men of the Stone Age, who occupied the old world and passed away before the dawn of history, were very like the people in possession of this continent when first discovered

by the Europeans.<sup>1</sup> The same form of the flint arrow, the same style of stone hatchet found in the graves of the unknown warriors of the pre-historic race that occupied Britian and France, were the weapons in use by the North American Indian when first known to the white man; while in the then unexplored mounds of the lower Mississippi and the valley of the Ohio, extending into parts of Western New York, lay concealed the relics of a people who had preceded the tribes then in possession of the New World. These ancient mounds have since yielded some of their treasures to the archæologist, leaving little doubt of the close affinity between those who built them in physical character, in their habits, social institutions and religious beliefs with the pre-historic men of the old world. They worked not only in stone and clay but also in copper and silver, as seen from their implements, utensils and ornaments. They were acquainted with the rich mineral deposits along the banks of Lake Superior as attested by ancient excavations in which are found the stone mauls and picks and decayed wooden shovels of these ancient miners. They were not only tillers of the soil, but give proof of artistic skill as weavers, potters, and to some extent workers in metals, while the monuments they have left behind indicate industry and power. In no respect, however, do they seem to have been the superior of the peoples who succeeded them, in their weapons, or many of their implements, though doubtless the ruder forms of these may have survived, while the more skillful and delicate products may have mouldered and perished. Their mound-village sites, from which their habitations and defences have disappeared, with their sacrificial burial places, sufficiently distinguish them from the roving and unsettled

<sup>1</sup> See "Fossil Men and their Modern Representatives," in which the author, Principal Dawson, of the McGill University, has done most excellent service in employing existing information as to American Races, "to illustrate and explain conditions long since passed away in the Eastern Continent."

tribes who disputed with them their ancient possessions. Dr. Wilson in his "Pre-historic Man" gives an illustration of an ancient burial place discovered near Brockville, C. "Here were buried about fourteen feet below the surface, twenty skeletons, arranged in a circle with their feet toward the centre. Some of the skeletons were of gigantic proportions, but their bones had well nigh crumbled into dust. With these were found well made spears and chisels of native copper, stone chisels, gouges and flint arrow heads, and a curious terra-cotta mask resembling the heads on the earthen vessels of the mound-builders." This corresponds, says Dr. Dawson, with the old Alleghan modes of interment, in the South west, where the skeletons are found in the same position, and often with an earthen vessel, bearing the representation of a human face at the head of each, for food or water, even as David discovered his enemy Saul asleep in the trench with the spear and cruise at his bolster.<sup>2</sup> On our own Fort Hill, before devoted to its present uses, a number of skeletons were found similarly grouped in a circle, placed in death as warriors would lie with their feet to the watch fire—a mode of burial peculiar to the mound-builders.

That the commanding earth-work which crowns Fort Hill,<sup>3</sup> belongs to a period which antedates the occupation of this region by the Iroquois, is generally conceded. A similar mound enclosure on an elevation, near where the rail-road crosses North Street, only still more marked, is remembered by the older inhabitants, as encircling some three or four acres. The whole has since been levelled by the plow and is under cultivation. It was the site of an ancient fortified town and abounds in interesting relics. Here are found the most ancient forms of the disc hammer,<sup>4</sup> characteristic

<sup>2</sup> "Fossil Men, etc." p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> See Fig. 4 in the series of illustrations, in Mr. Wheeler's paper, "Inventors and Inventions of Cayuga Co., N. Y.," which forms a part of this volume.

<sup>4</sup> Id. Fig. 7 b.

of the Stone Age, also the simplest type of the arrow head, small and triangular,<sup>5</sup> without the notches at the base, after the pattern which Nilsson and others give as used by the Flint folk of Europe; fragments of pottery in profusion, ornamented with various tracings and indentations; the stone pipe of quite elaborate forms, and similar indications of a very ancient civilization. Only such things as are of imperishable material, survive to tell of the life and customs of the people, who had chosen for their abode a spot commanding one of the most extended and charming prospects in the vicinity of our fair city. No tradition gives any clue as to the date of its occupation. It was evidently not known to the French Jesuit Fathers, who have given us the earliest records of this region, (1656-1684), and who locate with special distinctness the Cayuga villages as they then existed. But though pre-historic in its origin and fate, it would not be difficult for the antiquarian to restore it in sketch to the eye, as it appeared when it was the centre of life and power. In the vicinity, stood some years since, as I am informed, a mound of earth, which when levelled was found to contain a large number of skeletons, many of which were pierced with arrow heads still fast in the bones, showing that these warriors fell in battle, doubtless in defence of the town, in the struggle between fierce and rival peoples for the mastery of this ground.

It seems to have been the fate of all aboriginal populations, in Asia and Europe, as well as on the North American continent, at one time or another, to be thus dispossessed of the soil, and to fade away before some superior race. When first known to the explorers of the country, the Indian tribes occupying the territory now covered by the State of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, together with a portion of

<sup>5</sup> "Inventors and Inventions, etc.," Fig. 5. The hand hammer and the arrow heads thus illustrated were found on the ancient site referred to in the text.

Canada, were grouped into leagues or confederacies, both for defence and aggression, with little or no apparent advantage of the one over the other. Indeed, from some cause, there appears to have been such adjustment of limits and relations as civilized nations have found necessary to preserve the balance of power. The Iroquois five nations better known from their geographical position and their prominence in the early history of the country, were at that time hemmed in on all sides by such powerful neighbors as the Hurons, the Neuters and the Eries on the north and west, and on the south and east by the Susquehannas or Andastes, and the Mohicans. It was not until after settlements were made by the French in Canada, and the Dutch, followed by the English, in New York, that the Iroquois confederacy evinced that spirit of conquest which distinguishes them and made their name a terror from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. It would appear that the ambition which knew no bounds to aggression, and has won for them the title of the "Romans of the west," was suddenly stimulated by the presence of the European, as it was afterwards materially helped by his counsels and superior arms, so that within a period of less than thirty years beginning with the destruction of the Hurons in 1649, they had swept from the territory I have indicated, these rival confederacies, or held them in subjection as their conquerors.

This proved an immense factor in the problem of the new civilization and paved the way for its solution. It simplified, at the outset, the relations of the several colonies, French, Dutch and English, with the natives, and centered every important question of mutual interest, policy, or treaty, in the grand council chamber at Onondaga, the capital of the Iroquois confederacy. It moreover gave, in the distribution of powers, to single cantons particular jurisdiction over conquered territory. Thus when Sir William Penn

would extend the limits of his colony by the purchase of a portion of the lands wrested by conquest from the Susquehannas, he was refused by Orehaoue, the great Cayuga war chief, who subsequently made over that same land to the English, at Albany, by treaty, thus determining the boundary line between Pennsylvania and New York. And sixty or seventy years later, when the Moravian Brethren would establish a mission site on the bank of the Susquehanna, consent must first be obtained from one of the successors of Orehaoue, and scarcely less distinguished Cayuga chief, Togahaoue. Thus, also, Shikellimy, father of the celebrated Logan, though an Oneida, by adoption, but married to the daughter of a Cayuga sachem, was made a ruler over a remnant of the conquered Shawnees, and other tribes at Shamokin on the Susquehanna—an instance of the Iroquois policy of constituting a sort of vice-gerency over all subjugated tribes.

For a hundred years the Five Nations played this conspicuous part in events which were slowly and surely conspiring toward one result; and their final overthrow became one of those necessities of history for which there is no remedy. They sought, in their pride and bravery, to maintain their position and prestige in the strife between French and English for their alliance and so for the supremacy; and deluded themselves with the fiction that they were independent of either. But with all their craft, the eloquence of their orators, the diplomacy of their sachems and the prowess of their warriors, it was as inevitable as destiny itself, that they in turn should come to the same fate which they had meted to others. It was in the necessity of events that their fortunes should be linked to one or the other of the two contending powers for the empire of the continent, and not less a necessity of their geographical position as well. And no sooner had they broken their earliest alliances, discarded the

French, and driven the missionary Fathers from their cantons, than we find them nailing up, in their villages, the arms of the Duke of York as a token of their allegiance to the English. The war of the Revolution, nearly a century afterward, found them simple dependencies to the crown of Great Britain: and they fell with the downfall of British sovereignty over the colonies. What the final result would have been, had the Iroquois five nations combined with the French, and against English colonization, we may hardly conjecture. It is easy, however, to see that such an alliance would have postponed, if it would not have prevented the establishment of liberty in the new world. But let us not forget to do justice to that feature of the French policy which would win the alliance of these fierce nations by the arts of persuasion and of peace. The Jesuit Father in the simplicity of his faith and with the heroism of his order, sought the conversion of the Indian, while not indifferent to the motive of winning his allegiance to the crown of France. It was the Catholic policy, then, as now, to convert the "savage," not more for the sake of bringing him into the Church, than of incorporating him into the State. Even in the overturn of the Iroquois missions, numbers of their converts were persuaded by the Jesuit Fathers to accompany them back to Canada, as thirty-five years before in the disaster which befell their cherished Huron missions, when that nation was destroyed by the Iroquois, they succeeded in gathering a Christian remnant near Quebec; and the Indian villages of Lorette and Caghawaga, on the banks of the St. Lawrence, remain until this day. It is due to the same policy that there are at the present time more than 7,000 Iroquois in Canada alone; and of this number nearly a thousand descendants, of the Mohawks, chiefly, who emigrated thither, two hundred years ago, under the guidance of the Jesuit missionaries.

This simple fact may, perhaps, furnish a hint, at least, toward an answer to the perplexing question—what to do with the Indian? It has been demonstrated that he can be both christianized and civilized, while it has been as clearly proven, that all measures on the part of our Government, with its system of treaties, reservation agencies, preserving his tribal relations and discarding his citizenship, have ended in failure. He has been driven from reservation to reservation; cajoled by treaties made to be broken; cheated by government agents and exasperated to retaliate by the only methods the savage has learned for self-protection—those of war, with the indiscriminate massacre of the innocent and the helpless.

It was after the close of the Revolution, that the State of New York, by solemn treaty with the Cayugas, reserved to them a hundred square miles, on both sides of the lake that bears their name; and guaranteed to them the right to fish in its waters and hunt in its forests, and to their descendants forever. Ten years sufficed to strip that reservation of almost every trace of Indian occupation. As late as the Presidency of John Quincy Adams, that sagacious and liberal statesman, in view of the harassing perplexity of this Indian problem, proposed to Congress that all the Indians then left within the precincts of civilization, be removed to the region about Green Bay, where for a long time to come, they could be secure from the intrusion of the white man; and this is the region now included within the eastern border of the State of Wisconsin and more than a thousand miles this side of the Rocky Mountains. Thus it is that our wisest statesmanship, in dealing with the Indian problem, finds itself continually swamped by the wave of our advancing civilization. We may not forecast its solution; only this, that the past has proved costly and cruel, and the future is far from being hopeful.



But, perhaps, I am touching too closely upon questions of the hour. Still, it is well to be reminded that there is this living connection of the present with the past; and as our work is, to husband the experience of the past, we may thereby be doing most for the light and guidance of the future.

FIFTH ANNUAL ADDRESS

BY THE PRESIDENT.

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FEBRUARY 15TH, 1882.



## A D D R E S S .

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It is an agreeable duty which the position, held by me through your favor, since the Society was formed, imposes upon me at each annual meeting. It is, moreover, an honor which I gratefully appreciate to be thus associated with you in the work we have in trust, the dignity and charm of which grow with the passing years. No one of us, perhaps, is free to do all he would to promote the objects we here have in view. For the most part we are under the pressure of other duties, with less of leisure than inclination, to pursue the studies to which our Society invites. Each year, however, reveals the value of these labors, and furnishes fresh incentive to renewed efforts in the field we have undertaken to explore.

It has been our aim thus far to secure accurate local histories of times and events within the limits of our own county, with sketches of individuals who took an active part in them; and our archives bear witness to the diligence and success which have attended these efforts. There has been no lack, either of material, or of careful labor in its preparation for the uses of the Society. We have listened, at successive meetings, to these monographs with a zest and satisfaction hardly to be found elsewhere among our recreations. And yet the pleasure and profit thus derived, are incidental only to a much higher end. Next to acting well our own part in the events which are passing into history, is the duty to preserve and transmit the record of what has been done for human welfare, and would otherwise perish from the knowledge of men.

This is a work which is never completed. Though our Society should become venerable in years and increase its acquisitions many fold, it will continue to have the same things to do that it is now doing, with perhaps a much wider field and, as we may hope, still larger facilities. It may well be our ambition, entrusted with its interests in its comparative infancy, to do what we can to make it worthy of perpetuation in its beneficent work, as the generations of men come and go.

In my last annual address, I was led to speak of our home field as inviting archæological research, suggested by remains corresponding to those attributed to pre-historic man, as found in different parts of Europe, and, indeed, in almost every portion of the habitable globe. I propose to pursue the subject this evening, with the aid of the more recent labors of those who have done most to inform us of the character and habits of the people who occupied this region, when first known to the European.

The importance which has attached to such remains, is in the evidence they are supposed to furnish of the great antiquity of man upon the earth; and at the same time, as shedding light upon the related question of his development from some inferior animal type. Here for example, I hold in my hand such a relic, one of many similar things picked up on the ancient village site within the limits of the city corporation, to which reference was made in my address last year. It is one of the rudest implements of the Stone Age, and may be regarded as among the most primitive put to the uses of man. It is a simple hand hammer, made by slightly hollowing a flat pebble on each side, so as to be firmly grasped by the thumb and two fingers. It was an indispensable utensil in every household, for driving wedges to split wood, breaking marrow bones, cracking nuts, bruising grains, and similar purposes, for which it appears to have had no substitute. This one bears marks of long and varied use, reducing

considerably its original size and shape, its flat surfaces smooth by hand wear, and looks as if it might have been an heirloom in some family, handed down for generations.

Now the question is, do we get any nearer the solution of this problem of the origin or antiquity of man, by the aid of this and similar implements scattered as they are in every part of the world? If the Stone Age covered the same period the world over; or if the implements and utensils which survive a people, furnished any criterion of their capacity, or intelligence even, the question would be greatly simplified. But, for example, the Stone Age of Europe antedates written history. Hence it opens a fine field for the antiquary in which to indulge his imagination as to how long man has been upon this earth, while the evolutionist can weave what theory he chooses about the natural capacity of a creature who could only fabricate such rude articles, and be content with the narrow life which they indicate. On the other hand, there is a Stone Age peculiar to this continent in that it continued to a comparatively recent date, and subsequent to written history, so that we know much about its peoples, their character, habits with their political and social institutions.

Our North American Indians, up to the time of their discovery by European explorers, were using the same stone implements, not less primitive, not a whit more ingenious in their make, than those of pre-historic Europe, so frequently cited as the silent witnesses of the indefinite age of man upon this planet, and of his inferior origin. I have examined, carefully, a large number of illustrations covering every shape and style of stone implement and weapon, characteristic of the pre-historic age, side by side with those in common use by our aboriginal Indians, and there is no difference; but so far as they indicate intelligence or capacity, they might have been made and used by one and the same people. Pre-historic man as measured by the remains disinterred from the

burial mounds and caves of the European continent, was at least not inferior to the red man of America, either in physical characteristics or in the arts of life. Indeed the resemblance in habits, institutions and religious belief, as thus indicated, can hardly be questioned.

But what is perhaps even more significant in this connection, the American Stone Age, as we know it, was preceded by or cotemporaneous with a period in which flourished a people who have left behind them evidences of art and forms of industry, which were unknown to the Indian three hundred years ago, when first seen by the European.<sup>1</sup> Are we therefore to infer that these mound-builders and metal workers were the intellectual superiors of the red man who was found in possession of the soil, though he did not perpetuate their type of civilization? Does the fact that the lords of the continent, when first known to the adventurous navigator, were living in bark houses, and content with the rudest form of stone implement, prove them inferior in capacity or achievement to the people who built their pueblos on raised embankments of earth, the remains of which have given them their name? There are, for example, several well known

<sup>1</sup> "From the absence of all traditional knowledge of the mound-builders, among the tribes found east of the Mississippi," says Morgan, (*Houses and House Life*, pp. 219, 220,) "an inference arises that the period of their occupation was ancient. Their withdrawal was probably gradual and completed before the advent of the ancestors of the present tribes, or simultaneous with their arrival. It seems more likely that their retirement from the country was voluntary than that they were expelled by an influx of wild tribes. If their expulsion had been the result of a protracted warfare, all remembrance of so remarkable an event would scarcely have been lost among the tribes by whom they were displaced. \* \* \* \* It is not improbable that the attempt to transplant the New Mexican type of Village life into the valley of the Ohio, proved a failure and that after great efforts continued through centuries of time, it was finally abandoned by their withdrawal first into the Gulf region through which they entered, and lastly from the country altogether." Dr. Abbott, (*Primitive Industry*, p. 350) asserts that "as yet there is not one jot or tittle of evidence that proves that the native races of the North Atlantic seaboard, were not as old as the mound-builders. The latter seem the older simply because the traces of antiquity on the seaboard have been overlooked or strangely disregarded, because so uninviting when compared with the rich harvests of strange objects, that reward the explorers of the western mounds."

Indian sites within the limits of this county, and assuming now that all we know about the people who once occupied them, is what may be gathered from the remains which have survived them, their stone hammers, axes, chisels, pestles, gouges, their flint spear and arrow heads, or the fragments of pottery, which suggest their household economy, and what would be the ready conclusion? Why, that they were the rudest of savages, if not the most inferior specimens of humanity.

But, fortunately, it so happens that we know much about these old Cayugas, that we can never know of the pre-historic peoples who have left the same imperishable relics, so alike in form, and use, that they might have been fabricated by the same hands. We know that they developed many useful arts of which no remains are to be found; as of curing and tanning the skins of animals; of the manufacture of moccasins and wearing apparel; of rope and net making from filaments of bark; of finger weaving with warp and woof of the same material into mats, sashes, burden straps and other useful fabrics; of basket making with osier, cane and splints; of canoe making from skins, birch bark, or by hollowing and shaping a single log; of making fish spears and bone hooks, implements for athletic games, musical instruments, such as the flute and the drum together with various personal ornaments of shell, bone, and stone.<sup>2</sup> We know also that they were cultivators of the soil; had their harvest festivals, and stored for winter use the fruits of their husbandry.

But more than this, we know that these ancient Cayugas formed an integral part of a powerful confederacy, with a government and institutions in structure and purpose not unlike our own Republic, which came centuries later; certainly more in accordance with it in form and principle, than any cotemporaneous European government. It was a marvel

<sup>2</sup> Lewis H. Morgan in *North American Review*, October, 1868.



of political sagacity, as it appeared to the intelligent and devoted missionaries who first sought to win the Iroquois to the crown of France and the Christian faith. The students of political science in the Old World, were at a loss to account for the existence of a system evincing such wisdom in adjusting power to personal rights and combining law with liberty, among rude barbarians.

Now with this knowledge, we are only to remember that they were a people of the Stone Age, to distrust the conclusion to which we are invited in speculations about the prehistoric races, that because men made their common and more useful implements and their most effective weapons, of stone instead of iron ; and their ornaments of shell and bone rather than of copper or gold, therefore they were low in intellect and related, not distantly, to the chimpanzee or the gorilla.

It is due largely to the careful labors of a native of this county, the late Lewis H. Morgan, that we have such full knowledge of our immediate predecessors in the central and western portion of the State. It was to the political and social system of the Iroquois, that this distinguished scholar devoted his earlier ethnological studies, and now almost simultaneous with his lamented death, his latest investigations in this "great problem of Indian life" appear in a volume recently issued by the Department of the Interior at Washington.<sup>3</sup> We have also within the past year, from the pen of the eminent philologist, Mr. Horatio Hale, an authentic history of the origin of the Iroquois League, as the result of much patient research.<sup>4</sup> It presents the founder of the confederation, Hiawatha, as no longer a divinity either Iroquois or Algonquin, but in the garb of sober history and under the title of "A Law-giver of the Stone Age" Dr. Morgan has done much to disentangle American aboriginal

<sup>3</sup> U. S. Geographical and Geological Survey. *Houses and House Life of the American Aborigines*; Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. IV, 1881.

<sup>4</sup> *Hiawatha and the Iroquois Confederation. A study in Anthropology*, 1881.

history and ethnology from perversion, caricature and romance; but a more satisfactory single study in this direction, than this of Mr. Hale, it would be difficult to find among the various contributions to this department of knowledge.

It is from a confused Indian mythology, that the genius of Longfellow has woven the charming poem which sings of Hiawatha as of miraculous birth, sent of the Great Spirit among the red men to clear their rivers, forests and fishing grounds, and teach them the arts of peace. The Gitche Manitou, or Great Master of Life, has become weary with the quarrels and bloodshed of his poor children, and tells them that they should fight each other no more; that their strength is in union; that henceforth he would have them at peace with one another, and promises to send them a great prophet who will guide them and teach them; that they have only to listen to his counsels to grow and prosper; otherwise they would fade away and perish. If, then, they would receive their prophet, they must cease from their bloody quarrels; wash the war paint from their faces; bury their war clubs; smoke together the peace-pipe, and love as brothers. Enough to say, the promise is made good in the birth of the child of wonder, this son of the West Wind; in his strange nurture; his marvelous deeds of wisdom and love, until his final farewell to the people for whose good he had wrought and suffered, when, as he faded from their sight, his bark canoe seemed lifted high into a sea of splendor and then sank like the new moon into the purple distance.

As in the Grecian mythology, gods were only magnified men, so this fabled divinity of the red man, was no other than a veritable Onondaga chief, "a grave Iroquois law-giver of the fifteenth century," instead of an "Ojibway demigod," as he is made to figure in modern literature. Let us then for a while, this evening, follow the traces of veritable history, as given by Mr. Hale in his discriminating research over ground so long surrendered to fable and song.

The Iroquois were first discovered in 1608, and it is claimed in their traditions that their confederacy had existed from one hundred and fifty to two hundred years, when they first saw Europeans, which would give the date of its formation about A. D. 1400-1450.\* If the Iroquois were originally one people, as there is good reason to believe, they had been broken into five independent tribes contiguous to each other and substantially of one language. The Mohawks and Oneidas on the east, were involved in perpetual broils with the Mohicans who held the banks of the Hudson River. The Cayugas and Senecas on the west, were in like antagonism with such warlike tribes as the Eries and Hurons, while the Onondagas, being the central nation, had their own policy, directed by a crafty, ambitious chief who sought to advance his own power, regardless of the other Iroquois tribes. His name was Atotarho, or as also written, Tododaho. He was regarded as a most dangerous antagonist by his immediate neighbors, as well as by his more distant enemies, and was sullenly opposed to anything like union with the other tribes.

Hiawatha, himself a chief of high rank and of repute among the Onondagas for his wisdom and goodness, on the contrary, longed for union and peace, not only among the five nations thus grouped together, but for all others, that could be induced to come into such a league. He was now past middle life, a calm and thoughtful observer of events. Moved by the sad condition to which war and misrule had reduced his own, and the other tribes, he kept his own counsel, while meditating a scheme which would secure general peace and amity.

The time at length came, when Hiawatha was ready for action. He sought first the adhesion of his own nation to the plan, before it should be proposed to the others. Exercising the right of one of his rank, he summoned the chiefs

\* Morgan's *Houses and House Life of the American Aborigines*, p. 26.

and people in council. They came together in large numbers. But the presence of Atotarho, seated in grim silence, was enough to over-awe the assembly, for though he spoke not a word, it was apparent to all that he looked with displeasure upon the change. Hiawatha unsupported by a single voice, stood alone and the council dispersed. Nothing daunted, however, he called another assembly which for the same reason as before, broke up without debate. He persisted for the third time; but besides himself no one came; and as the narrative relates, Hiawatha seated himself on the ground in sorrow; enveloped his head in his mantle of skins and remained a long time wrapped in grief and thought. At length, he arose and left the town; and as the councils of his own nation were closed against him, he betook his way toward the Mohawks. It is related that when but a short distance from the town, he passed Atotarho, his crafty antagonist seated near a well known spring, in his usual stern and silent mood. No word passed between them, as Hiawatha plunged into the forest. Among other incidents of his solitary journey, it is told, that in passing a certain lake, he gathered a number of white shells with which its shores were sprinkled, and arranged them in wampum strings upon his breast, as the token that he was the messenger of peace. It was early one morning that he arrived at a Mohawk town, the residence of a noted chief, Dekanawidah; and seating himself upon a falling trunk, near a spring, just as the day was dawning, he awaited the coming of the first to draw water. Presently, one of the six brothers of Dekanawidah, who, with their families, lived with him in the same house, came with his vessel of elm bark, toward the spring. Hiawatha sat silent and motionless. Something in his aspect awed the warrior, who feared to address him. He returned to the house, saying to Dekanawidah, "A man, or a figure like a man, is seated by the spring, having his breast covered with white shells."

"It is a guest," replied the chief, "Go bring him in; we will make him welcome."<sup>6</sup>

Hiawatha found in the Mohawk chieftain, at once, a kindred spirit and a wise counselor. Together they entered upon the task of shaping and perfecting the proposed league, and securing for it the popular favor. The idea, as we have said, was of peace and union among the several tribes whose relative position and mutual interest pointed in that direction, while the confederation, once formed, was intended to be sufficiently elastic to embrace any and all other tribes who sought its benefits and complied with its terms. Indeed, the scheme in its inception, was a very broad and liberal one, and could it have been carried out, according to the idea of its projector, it would have been to the Indian nations of the North American continent, what our Federal Union is to the states that compose it. That it did not reach these colossal proportions, will not diminish our respect for this "law-giver of the Stone Age," who had the heart to desire, and the mind to conceive the beneficent design.

After much deliberation, the approbation of the Mohawks was obtained, and ambassadors were despatched to the Oneidas, the adjacent tribe, to secure their co-operation. The embassy met with a friendly reception, but the gravity of the matter required consideration, and it was not until the expiration of a year, that the consent of the Oneidas was given.

With the prestige thus afforded by the favorable action of the Mohawks and Oneidas, the attempt was renewed to win the Onondagas to the scheme, and the deputation for the

<sup>6</sup> Among the Iroquois, hospitality was an established usage. If a man entered an Indian house, at whatever hour of the day, in any of their villages, whether a villager, a tribesman or a stranger, it was the duty of the women therein to set food before him. An omission to do this, would have been a discourtesy amounting to an affront. As a custom it was upheld by a vigorous public sentiment. Mr. Morgan connects this universal exercise of hospitality with the ownership of land in common, the distribution of their products to households, consisting of a number of families, or the practice of communism in living in the household.—*Houses and House Life, etc.*, p. 61.

purpose, consisted of the three chiefs, Hiawatha, Dekanawidah, with the Oneida, Odatshehte. But with this reinforcement even, the proposal was fated to another failure. Atotarho kept the same mind and coldly refused to entertain the project. The deputation, however, were not to be turned from their purpose. Next to the Onondagas toward the west, lay the Cayugas; and to their capital these messengers of peace made their way through the unbroken forest, conscious of a high errand and still hopeful of success. The Cayugas needed little persuasion to induce them to ratify the compact.

This done, Akahenyok, their chief, joined with the other deputies in one more effort to secure terms with the Onondagas and their haughty chief. Resort was had to the tactics of a wise diplomacy, which takes into account the difficulties of the case, secures what it can at once, and waits upon time to bring about what, for the moment, it may seem to surrender. Thus it was proposed to concede that the Onondagas should be the leading nation of the confederacy, as geographically they occupied the central position; that their chief town should be the federal capital where the general councils should be held, and in which they should have fourteen sachems, while no other nation should have more than ten; that the right to summon a federal council should rest alone in Atatarho as the leading chief, and no act should be valid to which he might object. These concessions to the pride of the Onondagas and the haughty obstinacy of their chief, met the case; and in due time they also ratified in solemn treaty the league, which now embraced four of the Iroquois nations. It remained to secure the adhesion of the Senecas, the most populous of them all. A certain distinction was accorded to them in the recognition of their two principal chiefs, as military commanders, with the title of Door Keepers of the Long House, an appellation by which the confederacy was to be known; and they were prompt to follow the example of the other tribes.

The union thus formed and the principles on which it was founded thus thoroughly understood, the next step was to construct and put in operation the actual government by the appointment of its first council on the basis of representation already determined. This was done at a convention composed, by common consent, of the leaders in the movement already mentioned, including the Seneca chiefs, six in all, which met near the Onondaga lake, with Hiawatha as their principal adviser, and attended by a large concourse of the people from various parts of the new confederacy. Fifty sachems were selected for the federal council, distributed as follows: nine each from the Mohawks and Oneidas; fourteen from the Onondagas; ten from the Cayugas, and eight from the Senecas. The rights of the several cantons composing the league, were carefully guarded by providing that unanimity must be reached in every decision; that is, the voice of each tribe or nation as determined by the majority of its representatives, in separate deliberation, after the general discussion, must be given in favor of the measure to make it binding. Thus each particular nation had an equal standing in the federal council, without regard to the number of its representatives; and to each was accorded a veto power against the action of all the others, thus neutralizing the concession made to the Onondagas in giving them the larger number of sachems in the council and their chief a veto upon its acts, as substantially the same right was accorded to all.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Recognizing unanimity as a necessary principle, the founders of the confederacy divided the sachems of each tribe into classes as a means for its attainment. No sachem was allowed to express an opinion in council, in the nature of a vote, until he had first agreed with the sachem or sachems of his class upon the opinion to be expressed, and had been appointed to act as speaker for the class. Thus, the eight Seneca sachems, being in four classes, could have but four opinions; and the ten Cayuga sachems being in the same number of classes could have but four. In this manner the sachems in each class were first brought to unanimity among themselves. A cross-consultation was then held between the four sachems appointed to speak for the four classes; and when they had agreed they designated one of their number to express their resulting opinion, which was the answer of that tribe. If the several opinions agreed, the decision of the council was made. If not, the measure was defeated and the council was at an end.—*Houses and House Life, etc.*, p. 37.

This is the simple history of the origin of the Iroquois confederation which, for more than three centuries, held the Five Nations together in perfect amity and made them such a power on this continent. I have rehearsed the story in the briefest form, as chiefly drawn from the elaborate paper of Mr. Hale, who has done such valuable service in disentangling this early portion of Iroquois history from the legends of their mythology, and given to their most cherished and venerated name its place in true history. Hiawatha, as a real personage, ranks with the heroes, sages and exemplars of the past, who have advanced human welfare. "His tender and lofty wisdom," says Mr. Hale, "his wide reaching benevolence, and his fervent appeals to the better sentiments, enforced by the eloquence of which he was master, touched cords in the popular heart, which have continued until this day. Fragments of the speeches in which he addressed the council and the people of the league, are still remembered and repeated."<sup>8</sup> "About the main events of his history and about his character and purposes, there can be no reasonable doubt; we have the wampum belts which he handled and whose simple hieroglyphics preserve the memory of the public acts in which he took part. We have also in the Iroquois "Book of Rites" a still more clear and convincing testimony of the character both of this legislator and the people for whom his institutions were designed. This book, sometimes called the "Book of the condoling council," comprises the speeches, songs and other ceremonials which from the earliest period of the confederacy, have composed the proceedings of their councils when a deceased chief is lamented and his successor is installed in office. The fundamental laws of the League, a list of their ancient towns and the names of the chiefs who

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<sup>8</sup> Hiawatha and the Iroquois Confederation, p. 15.



constituted their first council, chanted in a kind of litany, are also comprised.”<sup>9</sup>

These men of the Stone Age, measured by their work and time, were the equals in intellectual endowment and practical wisdom with any whose names are associated with the origin of nations. Their ideas of union and independence of law as the basis of liberty, antedate the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States, at least three centuries. These “Flint Folk” had maintained freedom with self-government in the heart of our empire state, for two hundred years before Hendrick Hudson sailed up the river which bears his name, or the Pilgrim Fathers set foot on Plymouth Rock. It was certainly not superiority of numbers that gave them the possession of the gateways of this continent from the Hudson to the Mississippi; for at the height of their power, they could not command more than twenty-five hundred warriors, with a native population of less than twelve thousand. The simple fact that they maintained their union with free government, in its integrity for thrice the period which covers our national life, may of itself serve to increase our respect for these barbarians, as we are wont to regard them, if not to abate somewhat the self esteem of our modern civilization, which would delude us with the notion that superior culture and wider knowledge, necessarily imply superior capacity and a sturdier virtue.

Another fact of special significance is that there were no indications of degeneracy among their leaders, or in the people themselves, from the formation of their confederacy to the time when the earliest white men came among them.

<sup>9</sup> Id. p. 19. There are at the present time in the United States and Canada more than 13,000 bearing the Iroquois names and lineage; and says Morgan (*Houses and House Life*, etc., p. 32): “Although but a shadow of the old confederacy now remains, it is fully organized with its complement of sachems and aids, with the exception of the Mohawk tribe, which removed to Canada about 1775. Whenever vacancies occur, their places are filled and a general council is convened to install the new sachems and their aids. The present Iroquois are also perfectly familiar with the structure and principles of the ancient confederacy.”

"No senator of Venice," says the Franciscan Father Hennepin, "ever assumed a graver countenance or spoke with more weight than these Iroquois sachems in their assemblies." And the Jesuit Father Lafitau, in similiar phrase, represents the federal senate at Onondaga as "discussing affairs of state with as much coolness and gravity, as the Spanish Junta or the grand council of Venice." The successor of the haughty Atotarho, two hundred years after the establishment of the League, was the princely and courteous Garaontie, the fast friend of the French missionaries, the advocate of peace, and scarcely less honored and beloved in the other cantons than by his own people, the Onondagas. He was, moreover, greatly esteemed by the Jesuit Fathers and the French authorities at Quebec, by whom he was entertained on occasions of state, with marks of highest respect, and whose ambassadors he always received at the Iroquois capital, with becoming dignity and grace. His name signifies "sun that advances," and his character as a sachem and sage, was not unworthy the appellation.

Not unlike Garaontie in many of his best characteristics, and perhaps his superior in the arts of diplomacy and eloquence, was his contemporary, Saonchiogwa, the chief of the Cayugas, whose speeches in general council and on important embassies, have been preserved in the French Relations<sup>10</sup> as among the finest specimens of native oratory, which have called forth such encomiums from our own statesmen and scholars. He was the friend and host of the learned and accomplished Jesuit, de Carhiel, whose confidence and esteem he enjoyed, during the eighteen years' residence of that missionary among the Cayugas, and through whose influence he was led to embrace the Christian faith, and subsequently baptized by the Lord Bishop at Quebec, in the presence of the Governor General and other French dignitaries both of

<sup>10</sup> Relation, 1666, Chap. VII ; Ib, 1661, Chap. II.

church and state, on the conclusion of a most important negotiation with which he had been charged by his countrymen.<sup>11</sup>

Among examples of military genius, I might speak of Orehaoue, also a Cayuga, and recognized as the great war chief of the Five Nations, at the period of which we are speaking. His achievements, both of peace and war, would fill a volume. He was, perhaps, the most prominent Indian figure of his time, unless we except the Huron Rat, that extraordinary man of whom Charlevoix says, "No Indian had ever possessed greater merit, a finer mind, more valor, prudence, or discernment in understanding those with whom he had to deal." Returning from France (where he had been sent a prisoner through treachery) in the same vessel with Count Frontenac, on his second appointment as governor-general of Canada, Orehaoue became strongly attached to the Count, who had a great admiration for his genius, and always treated him with high consideration. Indeed, he became identified with the French cause, as against the English who had in many ways sought his favor, and became the war leader of the Indian allies to the crown of France. He died of a brief sickness, greatly lamented; and as a token of his fidelity and eminent service, was buried at Quebec with both military and ecclesiastical honors.<sup>12</sup>

I could speak of others, if less prominent, scarcely less gifted, among the Iroquois leaders in that critical period when the resources of both France and England were taxed to their utmost to win the Five Nations into alliance with one or the other of these rival powers. But it must suffice to say that all our knowledge of this people of the Stone Age, and their chosen leaders, as indicating their capacity for government and national achievement, only demonstrates how unsafe it

<sup>11</sup> *Ib.* 1671, Chap. II.

<sup>12</sup> See *Col. Hist. N. Y.*, IX, 464, 524, 681. Also Shea's *Charlevoix*, IV, 151, 203, 312, 346.

is, to judge of the natural capacity of a race of men from the standpoint of archæology, apart from the light of history.

A similar review of the domestic and social life of the Iroquois nations, for which there is now abundant material, is equally in their favor. It would present them as a kindly affectionate people, full of sympathy for their friends in distress, considerate to their women, tender to their children, hospitable to strangers, persistently faithful to the relationship of kindred, anxious for peace, and imbued with a profound reverence for their national heroes and benefactors. Indeed, the more we know of them, through the careful studies of such writers as I have already indicated, the less ground is there for the common prejudice that they are only treacherous and cruel, a race of rude and ferocious warriors skilled in the arts of torture, rapine and bloodshed. "The ferocity, craft and cruelty (says Mr. Hale) which have been deemed their leading traits have been merely the natural accompaniments of their wars of self preservation and no more indicate their genuine character, than the paint and plume and tomahawk of the warrior, displayed the customary guise in which he appeared among his own people." We as a nation, would resent as narrow and harsh, any judgment which might be formed of our national character, most of all of our domestic and social life, from the horrors which might be gathered from our late civil war, or indeed from that which secured our independence, instead of being measured by the purpose to be free, and the sacrifices then freely made to preserve union and liberty. And fortunate will it be for the American people, if after two more centuries of national life, with all their accessories of power and dominion, the institutions we now cherish shall remain unimpaired; and the sentiment of universal brotherhood and peace which for three hundred years, directed the polity and conserved the national league of this people of the Stone Age, shall still abide the strength and glory of the Republic.



EARLY HISTORY OF FRIENDS  
IN CAYUGA COUNTY, N. Y.

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Read before the Cayuga County Historical Society, April 8th, 1880.

BY MISS EMILY HOWLAND.



## HISTORICAL SKETCH OF FRIENDS IN CAYUGA COUNTY, N. Y., 1795 TO 1828.

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As a broader, truer view is gained by retreating from our object, so the meaning of Quakerism, the work it has done in the growth of civilization and the progress of humanity, can be better understood by pausing a moment at the threshold, when it, and all the outcome which have followed down the course of time, were centred in one, the illuminated soul of George Fox.

His life began in Leicestershire, one of the northern mid-land counties of England, in the year before the last of the reign of James I, in 1624. Of his parents he speaks thus: "My father's name was Christopher Fox; he was by profession a weaver, an honest man; the neighbors called him 'Righteous Christer.' My mother was an upright woman, and of the stock of the martyrs."

The boy was given little of the learning of schools, he was apprenticed to a shoemaker, who was also a grazier.

The latter vocation was suited to the growth of thought. While tending the flock on his native hills, the young shepherd pondered the deepest questions that propound themselves to the human mind.

England at this period was in the throes of Civil War. A tidal wave of liberty had risen beneath the throne itself, and shaken thence the sacred person of the king, whose "divine right" was to perish on the scaffold. An era of greater freedom was dawning. It was a time which ripened new ideas rapidly, and urged them to acceptance.



The young shepherd, now eighteen years old, fired by a religious enthusiasm, fostered by solitude and reading the Scriptures, wandered for some years in solitary places; sometimes he sought counsel and sympathy, but seldom found help; his advisers did not understand him, they thought him distraught, probably, and proposed activities of various kinds. One said, "use tobacco," another proposed military life, another marriage, etc.

Thus ever he was turned inward. In his wayfaring he found some sympathy. The first person who accepted and preached his doctrines was Elizabeth Hooton.

In 1647 he appeared and preached in Manchester, causing great excitement which resulted in his making converts, and being imprisoned for a time. Thenceforth he exhorted in season and out of season, the length and breadth of the United Kingdom, and tried the tender mercies of the most of its prisons.

Everywhere crowds followed and listened to him; a magnetic presence and a convincing power often disarmed and made converts of his enemies. An intrepid bravery, an endurance which no peril, and no suffering could daunt, piqued the admiration of jailers and courts, while a tender pity for all suffering and a spirit of forgiveness, divine in its quality, characterized him.

In figure he was tall and massive, and his manners, to use the words of William Penn, were "civil beyond all forms of breeding."

Such were some of the traits of the founder of Quakerism.

What did he teach which so brought down upon him the wrath of the powers that were? He taught the indwelling "Light of Christ" in the soul of man, which if followed, would lead into all Truth. "Mind the Light," was his frequent exhortation. Admonished as he believed by this Guide, he advocated simplicity, not only in worship, but in all the relations of life. He thought it his duty to lay aside

complimentary practices, such as bowing and putting off the hat from respect to persons or places, also the use of the plural number to a single person, with other flattering redundancies of speech. Living in this age, and in this country, permeated with democratic feeling, we cannot perhaps realize how much of the spirit of caste, one so intense and so loyal to convictions as George Fox, would detect in these customs of his time, and feel to be unchristian. He also saw that war was inconsistent with the peaceableness of Christ's kingdom.

He taught that no intellectual training for the ministry was needed, and that no material compensation should be rendered for such service.

His testimony against taking oaths seems to have been specially exasperating to the civil authorities, and on account of their adherence to it, early Friends suffered more persecution than from any other cause.

It must have preceded his convictions in regard to war, for many of Cromwell's soldiers, being followers of George Fox, refused, from conscientious scruples, to take the oath of allegiance to his protectorate.

His peculiar views were crowned by the belief that women should preach when moved by the Spirit, and that they should have co-ordinate meetings for discipline. Some of the brethren were strongly opposed to granting the latter privilege, but the mind of George Fox prevailed, and they finally confessed their error with deep humility. He also exemplified his ideas of the rights of women to their own inheritance. On his marriage to the widow of Judge Fell, he was careful that the most chivalrous justice be meted out to her and her children, and his biographer remarks, that it does not appear that he ever made personal use of their property.

In 1689, forty-two years after George Fox's appearance in Manchester, there were twenty-six yearly meetings in the

world, some of these composed of several subordinate meetings. Eleven were on the Western continent. It is thought the society reached its culmination in numbers and in activity during its first century.

In this sketch of that portion of his followers that settled in the southern part of our county, I shall try to give a glimpse of the life they lived. The civilization they planted, must include their places and forms of worship, their schools and their business.

It is also my purpose to give the names and some of the traits of a few of the shining ones who have gone before to make a surer path for our feet.

The employments of our rural community were much more varied seventy years ago than they now are. Conspicuous in the furniture of each farm house, were the untiring spinning-wheel with its mass of fleecy rolls pendent from the bar, the swifts, often the loom, the quaint little flax wheel, and the reel, a curious delight to the children when permitted to whirl it, the snap of the spring which reported the knots, furnishing an excitement which never wearied.

Instead of a trip to Auburn, and some marvellous bargains, renewing the outer man and boy from top to toe, each house and farm were the clothing store of the family.

On the farm grazed the sheep. The farmers took their fleeces, passed them to the women's hands, to be dyed, often carded, spun, woven and fashioned into garments, mostly for the brethren, who, before the appearance of the country store, embellished their clothing with buttons of leather, which I am told were not poor substitutes for those which superseded them.

Dresses also, of pressed flannel, as handsome as that now worn, clothed in comfort the daughters of the past generation. When these fabrics represented as much of the time and skill of the owners, as some of the fancy work of the

present age does, new dresses were not every-day facts, and were valued accordingly. Flax also was prepared with careful weary labor, and woven in colors for wearing, or plain, for table-cloths, handkerchiefs, etc. This exercise of skill could not but brighten the intelligence of the women of that time. An important part was enacted by them in the economy of life, now superseded by the labor-saving inventions of man.

But to the "Old Mortality" work assigned me. The moss has quickly overgrown what I would discover and make legible.

There was immigration to this region, of members of the society of Friends from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Long Island, New York City, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Dutchess, Westchester, Saratoga and Washington Counties in this State. Dartmouth in Massachusetts led the march hitherward. The first Friend who found a home here was Paulina, wife of Judge Walter Wood. She came with her husband to Aurora, in 1795, from White Creek, Washington county, originally from Dartmouth.

Judge Wood's name is still familiar as household words to many of us; he possessed one of those strong characters which not only impress their own, but succeeding time. A few of us have traditions of the gentle loveliness of the wife.

Benjamin and Mary Howland came in March, 1798, bringing five children, Humphrey, Martha, Mary, Harmony and Slocum. Lured by the hope of better soil than that of their native Dartmouth, they took the western trail in 1792, as far as Saratoga county in this State.

Not finding the fertile land they sought, and hearing of the famous "Genesee Country," (then all western New York was thus designated,) they sought and found this land of promise.

Snow lay on the ground; they came in two sleighs, one

drawn by oxen, the other, conveying the family, by horses. They brought flocks and herds, 20 cattle were in their train. Slocum Howland, then a little three years old boy, remembers peering over his wraps to watch the evolutions of the cattle. Benjamin Wilbur, also from Dartmouth, drove the ox-drawn sleigh. My father, Slocum Howland, thinks they were more than a fortnight coming. Their way was impeded by snow banks; driving the sheep and cattle also retarded progress. At Hardenburg's Corners they crossed Owasco Creek on a log bridge, built by the State.

Finally the end of the weary journey was reached, the oxen unyoked, the household treasures unpacked, the children set free, at a place two miles west from Poplar Ridge, on the State road coming from Cherry Valley over the Moravia hills and ending at the lake, at the mouth of Paine's Creek.

There was a log house, a living spring gurgling from the bank of the glen before the humble home, a saw mill, and a clearing of three acres, which a man named Wheeler had made and relinquished to the original owner, Judge Wood. From him Benj. Howland bought these improvements, with a farm of 135 acres, paying \$4 per acre for 85 acres and \$10 for the remaining 50. A framed house, two stories high in front, was built without delay; for Mary Howland, having no taste for rustic living, had come into the wilderness with the stipulation that she should not live in a log house, except temporarily. This house still stands, showing as little change as the "Deacon's one hoss shay" after its long run, and looks good for a century to come. The wide-throated chimney is just as it came from my grandfather's hands. He was a mason, and laid the foundations of many of the homes and firesides of the settlers.

Not a little of his work stands, attesting the thoroughness of the worker. His business was in such request that he employed several men, receiving \$3 per day for himself and

one assistant, the highest wages paid for any work at that time, ordinary farm work receiving 50 cents per day.

Benjamin Howland was a model pioneer; his spirit was strong and genial, and his kindness acknowledged all drafts. A proof of this, as peculiar as convincing, is that he extracted teeth for hapless, suffering neighbors, for whom no dentist lived. When his work was well done, he sometimes received a thank offering of words, but if he failed, "Uncle Ben," as he was familiarly styled, had to endure something more than ingratitude.

In the front room of Benjamin and Mary Howland's new house the first Friend's meeting in this county was held, in 1799. On preparative meeting occasions the men withdrew to the upper room.

The following persons including the family circle, assembled twice a week: Allen Mosher and Hannah with their family, natives of Dartmouth; sometimes Judge Wood and his wife from Aurora; Wm. and Hannah Reynouf from New York; Sylvanus and Lydia Hussey and family from Dartmouth; Content Hussey, called "Aunt Tenty," from Dartmouth; Samuel Haines from New Jersey; John and Dinah Wood, Jethro and Sylvia Wood, the former son of John Wood, the latter, daughter of Benjamin Howland; Joshua Baldwin, Elizabeth Baldwin, his mother, and Anne and Elizabeth, his sisters, from New York; Isaac and Ruth Wood, parents of Judge and James Wood, from Dartmouth.

Benjamin Howland set apart a burial place below his house, on the height above the glen. The first form laid in "its kindred dust" in this ground, was that of Slocum Hussey, in 1803. He was a son of Jonathan and Content Hussey, a young man of unusual promise, a student of law under Judge Wood's instruction.

The meeting, after some months, was removed to Benjamin Wilbur's "front room," he having bought three acres from

Benjamin Howland, and built a house. After a year, the room proving too small for the growing numbers, a log house, a few rods east of Benjamin Howland's, was fitted with partitions, to be closed during meetings for discipline; and thither the meeting was removed, to remain until the meeting house was built in 1810.

It may be well to illustrate the church polity of the society, by tracing the dependence of this little meeting upon authority, for its right to exist. Being within the limits of Farmington Monthly meeting, Ontario Co., an appeal to it for permission to hold a meeting, was made and granted for six months, and a committee appointed to attend the "indulged" meeting, as it was styled, and report.

At the end of this probation, a preparative meeting, to report to Farmington, was asked for, and granted. This monthly meeting was subordinate to Easton Quarterly meeting, in Washington Co., and that, with other similar bodies, to the New York yearly meeting. In 1808 the Quarterly meeting assented to the request of the Scipio Friends for a monthly meeting, separate from Farmington. In 1810 the yearly meeting constituted Farmington, Scipio, and DeRuyter monthly meetings; a quarterly meeting to be held at Farmington and Scipio alternately.

The quarterly meeting occupied three days, the first, being devoted to a consultation of Ministers and Elders, called select meetings; the members of these meetings were appointed to hold their stations, by the monthly meeting to which they belonged. Little that was said or enacted at these meetings was ever divulged to other ears. The book of discipline gives their Queries. The third of the series for Ministers and Elders, arrests attention as most pithy: "Are ministers sound in word and doctrine, and are they careful to minister in the ability that Truth gives?" "Are unbecoming tones and gestures avoided, and do they guard against enlarging their testimonies so as to be burdensome?"

The elocutionary part of this query must have often required exceptions to an affirmative answer.

The ministers were thus subject to the criticisms of the elders, who were also charged with responsibility for the good order of that portion of the Society within the jurisdiction of the Quarterly meeting to which they belonged, though without special authority, other than that given by position and weight of character.

Returning to our glimpses of some of the characters of those pioneers who reared their roof trees in the forests of the "Genesee Country," and first assembled here "to worship in the silence of all flesh," we find next in order of coming, Jethro and Sylvia Wood, who came from Saratoga Co., in 1799. They found a humble home in the wood south of Benjamin Howland's, and lived there until the following year, when the parents, John and Dinah Wood followed, with their daughters, Anne, Content, Cynthia and Hepsibeth, also their married daughter, Hannah Whippo and her husband, James Whippo. John Wood bought 600 acres of land at \$3.50 per acre, extending from the road running west from Poplar Ridge to the next road on the south.

About a mile west of the Ridge Road he built a commodious log house for his family, containing several rooms. This was never supplanted by a more pretentious dwelling. The son and daughter were also allotted farms on the tract.

In this fertile region, the rich tilth which rewarded the farmers' toil, suggested to the busy brain of Jethro Wood the need of a better plow than the one in use, that more work might be done, at less cost. The exigencies of the short season demanded early planting. The plow in use was expensive, and required frequent repairs. The result of his thought and effort, was a plow, the main principles of which, are still in use. The effect of this improvement in agriculture, the world over, is unending and incalculable.



The gift of one of these plows to the Emperor of Russia, was acknowledged by a gold medal in return, a token of his appreciation of the value of the invention.

Jethro Wood in social life, was genial and kind; unlike the ways of his sober sect, he did not repress the unfailing humor which provoked many an unwilling smile.

John Wood was a man of ability. He served as State Senator, despite the restrictions of the Society in regard to holding office, and was a valued friend of David Thomas.

Dinah Wood was a native of Nantucket. Her maiden name was Starbuck, a niece of Ann Starbuck, noted in the annals of that island for being at one time, practically, its chief ruler. Resembling her aunt in executive ability, she knew how to bring comfort and luxury out of the asperities of an early settler's life. A lady, from whom the writer asked reminiscences, a daughter of Abial Mosher, (who with his family, made the journey from Saratoga Co., in the winter of 1802), says, that they accepted the hospitality of John and Dinah Wood, while their father retraced his way to a place where the snow had obliged him to leave his sheep. For ten days no word came from the father. Meantime, they were enjoying the glowing open fire in Aunt Dinah's sitting room, and faring sumptuously.

In the spring it was her custom to superintend sugar-making in the forest; at that time the farm furnished the sugar. She was fond of needle-work, if she had lived in these days, decorative art and lace-making would doubtless have been among her pursuits.

Their daughter Anne taught school, the second teacher of my father. She died in her youth.

Among the young men of that period was Humphrey Howland, a youth of eighteen years. Energetic and ambitious, he became surveyor of lands for Judge Lawrence,

Robert Troup, Samuel Parsons, Richard Hart, and others, of New York City. In this business he traversed with chain and compass a large part of Cayuga, Tompkins and Cortland Counties. This life was attended with hardships, well seasoned with incidents, pathetic or curious, that beguiled weariness, and gave him many reminiscences for after years. Here is one showing the bill of fare sometimes offered in those days. He partook of a meal, where neither fish, flesh nor fowls, milk, bread, eggs, nor even salt, made a part of the repast. "What could it be?" do you ask. Beech leaves and vinegar.

In 1812, Humphrey Howland was a member of Assembly from this District, and his departure from the order of the Society of Friends, in accepting this preferment, is anonymously mentioned in its record.

Sylvanus and Lydia Hussey, and their family of four sons and two daughters, from Dartmouth, Mass., settled a mile and a half east of Aurora, on a farm now owned by their grandson. After living some years in primitive style, they built a framed house which was destroyed by fire. This they replaced by the one now standing, constructed of cobble stones. They were superior people; Lydia Hussey, a woman of strength of character and fine qualities, lived nearly a century.

The venerable Isaac and Ruth Wood were devoted and exemplary adherents of their faith, constant at meeting. He sat at the head, and determined the length of the meeting by shaking hands with his wife who sat at his right, and sometimes broke the reverent waiting silence by her words of counsel and exhortation. He gave three acres of ground for the future meeting-house and burial place, and by will (in 1815 probably) left a legacy of \$100 to the Society for the relief of the poor, to be dispensed as it might see fit. With judicious use, this sum lasted years; portions of it may still be

doing the will of the donor. The other worthies, who dignified this little assembly by their presence, have with those cited, left precious memories of good and useful lives.

An event of value to the little colony was the coming of David Thomas and his family from Lycoming Co., Penn., in 1805. Their first home was on the road west of Wheeler's Corners. Plain and humble, its occupants were cultivated and refined. Such a man could not resist the call to teach. Accordingly, soon after the date of his coming, he opened a school in a log house, west, and south of Poplar Ridge. One of his pupils thus describes the school room: "The wide-mouthed fire place was piled with logs four feet long each morning, affording a fire which needed no replenishing for the day. The little ones were seated on low benches against the chimney. Tables and benches without backs were furnished the older students." In the vital matter of pure air, these rude appointments far excelled the best fitted school room of the present time, and it would be strange if the youthful brain did not work better in that day, than it is possible for it to do in this.

One episode in the life of this dignified man, related by the pupil cited above, is given, because illustrative of the primitive ways of the time. David Thomas spent several evenings with her father, Abial Mosher, making moulds and running buttons of pewter, for a suit of clothes. She thinks the moulding was done in chalk. The buttons for the coat were as large as a twenty-five cent piece, and for the vest the size of a shilling. She remembers the buttons were a success.

An essay on the life of this distinguished man has been given you from an abler pen than mine. But I would fain render my tribute of gratitude to one whose beneficent, useful life has blessed us all. Noble, cultured, philanthropic! The youth of this country should, through all time, cherish his memory, as they enjoy the choice fruits that he introduced

and caused to abound ; and the florist remember that *his* fostering hand brought hither and tended many of our garden beauties, while his botanical knowledge taught us their correct names. His interests were not bounded by sect or vocation ; heart, influence and means were given to the hated Anti-Slavery cause, when to be an abolitionist required somewhat of the martyr spirit.

In the spring of 1807, Joseph and Sarah Tallcot, with their sons, Richard and Daniel, and daughters, Hannah and Phebe, moved in from Dutchess County, and settled one-fourth of a mile north of Benj. Howland's. Joseph Tallcot brought to this young branch of the Society a fervent spirit, and an unswerving devotion to his faith, which seemed to rule every step in the straight and narrow way of his long life. He felt great interest in education and in the training of children, and assisted in founding several schools in his Society. For several years he published periodicals, at different times, entitled "The Friendly Visitant," "The Child's Companion," and "The Acorn," containing such moral and religious lessons as he thought should be inculcated. He frequently visited the public schools for miles around his home, and scattered his little books. The cause of temperance enlisted him, and in 1816 he was moved to prepare what he termed "A serious and affectionate address to the pious and influential part of the community in Western New York, relative to ardent spirits." The appeal is forcible and eloquent. The following is the statement of the causes which led him to this action, and the incidents attending it: "The summer of 1816 was an unusually cold season, which cut the crop of Indian corn short, so that therewas a scarcity of grain in many places the following winter. At the same time the distilleries were kept in operation, while the poor found it difficult to procure what breadstuff they needed for their families."

“The circumstances affected me not a little, and induced me to write an address to the sober and influential part of the community, inviting them to a serious consideration of the melancholy situation, and the evils and calamitous consequences of intemperance. I insisted that nothing short of the example of that part of society which gives habits to the world, of abstaining altogether from the use of ardent spirits, except for medical purposes, would correct this alarming evil. I had no plan in view for giving publicity to my communication. I read it to some individuals as opportunities occurred. I learned that a Synod of Presbyterian clergymen was shortly to be held at Geneva. It occurred to me that a body of serious, influential men would be convened there, and were I to attend, I might have a favorable opportunity to promote my design.” Then follows an account of disappointment in regard to a friend to go with him, and of his trepidation and faltering before the ordeal. “In the morning,” he says, “I found my way to the house of Henry Axtel, the Presbyterian clergyman of that place. His brethren from the surrounding country soon began to come into the village, and call on him for instruction where they might find entertainment among their friends. The master of the house appeared very hospitable, inviting them to partake of his brandy, which they did, with what would be thought moderation. He turned to me and pleasantly said, he ‘supposed it would be useless to invite me to partake,’ considering my business. I as pleasantly replied, that ‘we had been in the same habit, but seeing the evil of it, we had abandoned it,’ and I hoped they would do the same.” The result of Joseph Tallcot’s concern was, that he was invited to read his address before a committee of the Synod; the committee in its report, approved of its being read before the whole body. This he did, and says: “After the reading they invited me again into the committee room, and asked

me many questions, desiring me to use entire freedom in making any remarks I wished, as it was a new subject to them, and I could probably suggest a course that would be proper for them to take. I told them I had now accomplished what I conceived duty had required, and as they were men of understanding, I should feel satisfied to leave them to take their own course. The marks of sympathy I received from this respectable body, and the accommodating disposition they manifested toward me, in my lonely and peculiar position, I hope ever to remember with gratitude.

A few days after returning home I received a paper containing my address, together with the resolutions of the Synod fully approving it, and solemnly declaring that, from that time, they would abandon the use of ardent spirits except for medical purposes; that they would speak against its common use from the pulpit; that they would seek for and give preference to laborers who would comply with their views on the subject, and use their influence to prevail with others to follow their example."

This incident has been dwelt upon at more length because the subject which Joseph Tallcot had at heart is one of vital interest to earnest people to-day. Sarah Tallcot was recommended as a minister in 1808, and accompanied by her husband, took long journeys to make religious visits and attend meetings in different parts of the State and in Canada.

The practice of the Society of furnishing its preachers with certificates to travel and hold meetings, led to a variety of valuable results. It tended toward raising all sections of the society to the same level, by making meetings and individuals known to each other. Each member knew or might know the names of some of the prominent Friends in every meeting in the world. A Friend coming from England knowing that "Young America" had no picture books, was careful to bring a goodly store, to the joy of childhood.

Some are now in the writer's possession, the gifts to her mother from a ministering friend who came to America in 1801.

Their son, Richard Tallcot, began the mercantile business in his early youth in Aurora. In 1812 he established himself at Ledyard, at the place which still bears his name, and remained there until 1825, when he removed to Skaneateles. He was an upright, benevolent man, a good citizen and strong in the faith of his fathers.

The other participants in the affairs of these first meetings, whose names appear, were Ruth Irish and Susanna Dennis, and John Winslow and his family, from Dartmouth, via White Creek. They came about 1804. Samuel and Elizabeth Willetts from New Jersey in 1805. Jacob and Katy Haight, George West who lived in Fleming and had a ride of twelve miles or more to meeting, John Bowen, Henry Pear-sall, Isaac Haight and Welcome Mosher, the last named from Dartmouth. He had been disowned for joining the army of the revolution, having returned to the peaceable ways of his fathers, he was by his request restored to membership and remained a valued member the rest of his days.

Turning to the pages of the old record of Scipio monthly meeting, we learn that the first assembly of the kind was held "the 11th of 4th month, 1808."

That Joseph Tallcot was made clerk of the men's meeting, and Hannah Whippo, of the women's. Both were re-appointed annually for eight years.

The women's meeting appointed its own officers, received reports from its subordinate meetings, dealt with its offending members and had its own treasury for charitable purposes.

It could not issue or receive certificates of membership, nor disown nor receive members without the ratification of the men's meeting. The men were not thus restricted, yet all action in which both bodies were mutually interested, being officially reported to the women, and thus recorded,

“women friends concurring therein,”—we see they had the rights of protest and of non-concurrence.

At these meetings the secular and other interests of the Society were considered, also cases of delinquent members; the queries were read and their answers pondered. The former are subjoined, to give an idea of the plain living and high thinking required of this peculiar people:

“1st Query. Are Friends careful to attend all our meetings for religious worship and discipline; is the hour observed; and are they clear of sleeping and of all other unbecoming behaviour?”

“2d Query. Are love and unity maintained as becomes brethren; if differences arise, is due care taken speedily to end them; and do Friends avoid and discourage tale-bearing and detraction?”

“3d Query. Are Friends careful to keep themselves, their own, and other Friends' children under their care, in plainness of speech, behaviour and apparel, and do they endeavor by example and precept to train them up in a religious life and conversation, consistent with our Christian profession? Are the Scriptures of Truth frequently read in Friends' families, and do they extend a due care in these respects towards others under their tuition?”

“4th Query. Do Friends avoid and discourage the use of distilled spirituous liquors, excepting for purposes strictly medicinal; and are they clear of frequenting taverns and of attending places of diversion?”

In one instance in 1810, the answer to this query concerning intoxicants, says, “clear as far as appears, unless using spirituous liquors at raisings be considered an exception.” In a time when building was common, these exceptions afforded a good deal of latitude. It is encouraging to see how much the present prevailing ideal and practice here are in advance of the reach of the most temperate people, seventy



years ago. No doubt due to the faithful work done by them.

“5th Query. Are the circumstances of the poor, and of those who appear likely to require assistance, duly inspected; is relief seasonably afforded them, and are they advised and assisted in such employments as they are capable of; and are their children, and all others under our care, instructed in school learning, to fit them for business?”

“6th Query. Do any keep company with persons not of our Society, on account of marriage; do parents connive at their keeping company with such, and do any attend the marriages of those who go out from us, or marriages accomplished by a priest?”

“7th Query. Are Friends clear of bearing arms, of complying with military requisitions, and of paying any fine or tax in lieu thereof?”

“8th Query. Are there any deficient in performing their promises, or paying their just debts; do any extend their business beyond their ability to manage, as becomes our religious profession; and are those who give occasion for fear on these accounts, timely labored with, for their preservation and recovery?”

“9th Query. Is care taken seasonably to deal with offenders in the spirit of meekness, and agreeably to discipline?”

“10th Query. Are the answers to the queries forwarded by subordinate meetings, the substance of, and founded on, the answers from the preparative meetings?”

The answers to the above were made every quarter by the overseers to the preparative meeting, thence referred to, read, acted on, and recorded by the monthly meeting; thence, through the same process, by the quarterly meeting; and lastly, they went to the yearly meeting, where they rested in the archives of the Society.

If those of us who once listened twelve times in the year to these questions, which sometimes involved criticisms of

our lives, have not verified Solomon's wise saying, it has not been through lack of training.

In scanning these records from 1808 to 1822, but nine cases of disownment for other causes than "marrying out," are discovered. On every page appears an infraction of the discipline in this regard. This inflexibility lost the Society many members.

One of the nine unfaithful accepted the post of paymaster in the army, in the war of 1812, and was disowned therefor, in these words:

"C. A., having had a right of membership with us, but not taking heed to the manifestations of Truth in his own heart, has so far deviated from the peaceable principles of our Society, as to be employed in the army; we therefore disown him from being any longer a member with us, until by amendment of life, he makes satisfaction for his outgoing."

Certificates of removal were furnished all members by the meeting they left, addressed to the one within whose limits they settled. These papers, prepared by committees appointed to investigate the affairs of persons removing, stated that they were members, had settled their temporal concerns satisfactorily, etc. If such a report could not be truthfully made, the reason was stated. A communication from Dartmouth advised, in regard to a member it had sent, that his acknowledgment of wrong in suing another Friend, before he left, should not be accepted unless he refunded the costs of the suit. It is pleasant to know that he was equal to the test, and complied with the requirement. Another trait of the Society, was care to be temperate in the use of language. The desire not to overstate, often led to the use of the negative form of expression; thus, in reporting a visit to a requester, "The Committee does not find but that his life and conversation are, in a good degree, orderly."

All cases of imprisonment or distraint for testimony against war were reported annually.

Besides the queries already cited, there was a word of counsel for as many of the exigencies of life as could be generalized. There were advices against reading pernicious books, for moderation on festive and all other occasions, in the furniture of the house and in the manner of living, on the necessity of being provided with "correctly written wills, disposing of property according to justice, that harmony in families might be promoted."

Friends were desired to avoid any act by which the right of slavery might be acknowledged, and were admonished in these terms, to remember those who had been held as slaves: "The state of those who have been held as slaves, by Friends, or by their predecessors, calls for serious inquiry and close examination, how far they are clear of withholding from them or their children, that assistance which may be found to be their just rights; and the descendants of those Friends who have held them in bondage, are affectionately entreated to attend to the openings of duty on this subject."

"Even if no such obligations to this people existed amongst us, it is worthy of serious consideration, whether there is any object of beneficence more deserving of attention, than that of training up the youth of this injured part of the human family, in such virtues, principles and habits, as may render them useful and respectable members of the community."

Listen to this counsel, the purest ethical science: "Friends are advised to be cautious in receiving collections or bequests for the use of the poor, or for other purposes of Society, from persons who have fallen short of the payment of their just debts, although they may be legally discharged by the voluntary act of their creditors; for, until such persons have discharged their debts, their possessions cannot, in equity, be called their own."

Here is advice which it would seem might interfere with love of country ; but patriotic feeling being so instinct with self-love, has not probably suffered much loss in consequence. "Should any disregard the concern of the Society and accept a post of profit and honor in government, he is not to be appointed in any services in the church, nor his collections received." Those who did not heed were reported annually. Probably but one of the three divisions of the Society in this country has retained these queries and advices in form and substance as then read.

The subject of a suitable meeting house claimed the early attention of the growing settlement. A gift of three acres of ground for this purpose, and for a burial place, had been received. Neither steam nor electricity then infused the spirit of hurry into all human doings. So we need not be surprised that a year and more passed, before a committee, charged with the matter of procuring a deed for the land, finally obtained a correct form for such a paper, and completed the work.

It had been decided in 1809, to build a house 34 feet by 50, the posts 22 feet, at an estimated cost of \$1,800. This decision was referred to the quarterly meeting, and passed thence to that department of the yearly meeting called the meeting for sufferings, which promptly replied that the project was on much too grand a scale, the house too large, too costly. The reason for this reference to authority lay in the fact that the yearly meeting paid a third or more, as the need might be, of the cost of building all the meeting houses in its jurisdiction, from a fund raised by tax on all its subordinate meetings, and in this way controlled any tendencies to extravagant ideas.

Scipio meeting was sure it understood its own need, and proceeded with its plan. Aaron Baker, the builder, (a Friend who came from New York), before beginning, estimated the

cost of the house proposed, at \$1,700. It was a nice calculation, for the actual cost was \$1,728.29. The sum of \$1,698.29 was assured, to begin, so there was a debt at the end, of \$30, not heavy; but the taxation for building houses in other parts of the State was constant; as no church debts were permitted, the money was pledged before the house was begun.

As this house came from the hands of the builders in 1810, such it is to-day, save that the tints of the unpainted interior are mellowed by time. The æsthetic sense may not delight in the architecture of a Friends' meeting house, but if there be beauty in the fitness of things, then it can claim recognition by the canons of taste, for are not its bareness, its simplicity, typical of the nakedness of the soul in the presence of the great "I Am?" The unpainted benches and partitions of construction severely simple, and the bare floor, were all in harmony with the sober color, the stiffness of shape, and the absence of all ornament in the dress of those who worshipped within its walls. The form of the edifice, though not pleasing to the eye, gives in material shape, one of the distinctive principles of the Society, the equality of men and women in affairs of the church; the square building being convertible at will, into two equal rooms, where these co-ordinate bodies deliberate separately.

Soon after the completion of the house the need of a school house was considered, and ultimately one was built near the meeting house, where a school was held for a quarter of a century or more. Interest in the subject of education never wavered. The committee in charge of the schools (there were three under its supervision, with an average attendance of 80, though often many more), took its subscriptions in 1812 for school books, which they bought of the publishers, Samuel Wood and others. Alas, the list of books ordered is not given. Murray's excellent English Reader and Gram-

mar, it is safe to say, were included. These books were afforded at reduced prices to parents, and some extra copies were useful to those children, either Friends or not, who were too poor to buy.

Whatever their text books and curriculum were, the young girls who came from these schools "formed in 1816 a society for mutual improvement, meeting in the school house at stated times to read original essays." Writes one who was of the number, "A few years later, an older company of both sexes, were in the habit of meeting at each others' homes for similar purposes, adding to the literary part, some other matters, such as the study of botany." They had a book club, buying to read such books as Zimmerman, Lord Chesterfield's letters, Cowper's Task, etc. Summing up the additions to the society by immigration and request, from the year 1808, when the monthly meeting was instituted, to 1822, we obtain the following statement :

In 1808, twenty-four members were added ; of the number was Martha Tupper who joined the Society and afterwards became a valued minister.

In 1809 there were thirty-five added. Of these was Jas. McLaughlin from Ireland, who entered by request. One who remembers him, describes him thus: "He wore long hose and knee buckles, and always walked to meeting, near or far ; on monthly meeting days, the distance was ten miles. He was a sort of preacher of the olden time, not recommended by the meeting." "Truth, justice and mercy, my friends. Show me an honest man, and I will show you a Christian," was sometimes his sermon. Some prosy speaker once drew this criticism on his hapless head. "There are persons who can say more in a single sentence than others do in a long harangue," the "r" being rolled with effect. He was a ventriloquist, but from scruples of conscience, rarely used his power. It is said that once in his presence two boys were

plying their fists on each other, when a voice descending, as they thought from above, caused fists suddenly to lose their force, and the grasp, its hold of the antagonist.

Asa Potter, from Uxbridge, Mass., also came in 1809; he was an active and useful member.

In 1814, he and his wife, Ruth Potter, opened a select school for girls in their own house, of which Phila Aldrich was teacher. They afterward removed to Aurora, where Cynthia and Sophia Southwick were the teachers. An indulged meeting was held there for the accommodation of the school. Young ladies, not members of the Society, were placed in the institution. This school was destined to mould characters which should shine in the highest walks of social life, and influence for good, the affairs of the nation. Judge Miller, of Auburn, whose ancestors were Friends, placed his daughters—Lisette, afterward Mrs. Alvah Worden, and Frances Adelaide, afterward Mrs. William D. Seward—under the care and training of these Friends. Those whose privilege, it was to know these noble sisters, in their life at the Capital, can realize how unique and powerful a force they were; interested in the reforms proposed and agitated by the advanced minds of the time, they moved on the troubled sea of Washington life, during eighteen years of the darkest and most eventful period of the Nation's history.

Mrs. Worden, with a wit keen as a Damascus blade, would pierce the sophistries of the enemies of human freedom, charming while she demolished. Severely plain in their dress, one delighted by her brilliant conversational power, the other refreshed by a beautiful and saintly presence, and an ever ready sympathy. Thoroughly conversant with the politics of the day, they cheered a wearied Sumner, whose principles closed other homes to him, or discussed the cause of Woman with a distinguished foreign guest,—welcomed and gladdened a lonely teacher, or listened to the appeal of some

poor Rachel grieving for children enslaved. Even animals basked in the glow of their kindness and love.

Thus all things found place, in the rounded fullness of their lives.

Aaron Baker and his family from New York City, came in 1809.

Wilbur and Susanna Dennis requested for their children Cyrus, Ann Eliza, and Seneca.

In 1810 the number added was fifty-seven including adults and children. Of these Jonathan and Sarah Swan are best remembered. He was engaged in mercantile affairs in Aurora until 1820. Their home was one of the social centres of their time.

In 1811 there were thirty-two arrivals, of these, the names which some of us may recognize, are Peleg and Eunice White, the latter of whom died two years ago, having lived a century; William S., and Eliza Burling, and Sarah T., wife of Humphry Howland. William S. Burling and Sarah T. Howland were clerks of the Monthly Meetings of the men and women respectively, for years.

In 1812, thirty were added, of whom one, Wm. Green,\* now lives at Union Springs. Another, Elizabeth, second wife of Aaron Baker, a woman of much excellence, died a few years ago at the age of ninety-five.

In 1813, twenty-seven arrived. Among these were John and Elizabeth Earl from Rhode Island, and Gardiner and Rhoda Wainer of Dartmouth. Gardiner Wainer, was a nephew of the celebrated colored sea captain and philanthropist, Paul Cuffee.

In 1814, the whole number of arrivals was fifty. Thomas J. and Mary Alsop, came in this year. The few years following their marriage, were spent in his native town of Hudson. But Mary, who was a daughter of Benjamin Howland, yearned for the home of her youth, so they removed to Cayuga. Not long

\* Since deceased.



after, Thomas Alsop opened a store at Sherwood in partnership with Humphry Howland. Unlike the common practice of the store-keepers of that time, they bore their testimony against drinking ardent spirits, by not furnishing it to customers. In 1821 they left the business, succeeded in it by Slocum Howland, and settled on a farm four miles west of Scipioville. Their home was a veritable Boffin's Bower. A genial influence radiated from its founders, who welcomed and sheltered the homeless, treated lovingly the boys of the neighborhood, who found here a spot where they felt themselves not "in the way," and so wrapped the congenial guest in its atmosphere of cheerful good-will that a visit there gave a foretaste of the ideal home.

Phebe Field, from Westchester County, claims special mention, she being a more than ordinary preacher and a woman of influence.

In 1815, forty-five were added by arrivals and requests. This reminiscence is from one of the former, a daughter of Cornelius and Abigail Weeks, who came from Cape Cod, Mass. The journey occupied twenty-seven days; coming in the winter they reached the end of the dreary pilgrimage on the last day of the year, 1814. The roads west from Albany were bad. The wagon broke at Oneida, and they were obliged to take shelter in a wigwam, while it was mended. The mother drove, and the father and two young men in company, Thomas and James Hoxie, walked. (The last named with his wife, still lives where they established themselves on their marriage in 1820.) After their arrival the daughter was sent to the school, under the auspices of the meeting, taught by Cornelius and Joseph Wing. There were thirty or forty pupils. The range of study was not extensive, but included some grammar.

In 1816, only sixteen arrivals are recorded. Of these,

John E. Williams of Rhode Island, was well known to some of us.

In 1817, the eastern part of the State sent twelve to the growing settlement.

In 1818, twelve came from Amawalk, Galway, Sandwich and Little Egg Harbor.

In 1819, thirty-two arrived, among these Lydia Philadelphia Mott, of English parentage, and named for the city where the family found a home. She was reared in the Episcopal Church, and the simple ways of her adopted sect were but a thin disguise, which rather heightened the effect of the culture and grace which careful training gives to the upper classes of England. She was an admirable teacher and a preacher; a member of Scipio monthly meeting, though she lived and taught in Skaneateles, calling her school "The Hive." She had a genius for benevolence. Her sympathy for suffering never slumbered, nor did any need find her aid wanting.

In 1820 fifteen were added. Susanna Marriott was one of this number. She came from near New York, and took the school in Aurora, once in charge of Asa and Ruth Potter. The coming of this rare teacher and remarkable woman was an event in the history of this part of the county, from which few persons now living here do not derive benefit, either directly or indirectly. Indeed the importance of the event extended to a wide circle beyond the county; one might say, it marked an era in Western New York. Many who have since graced the cultured walks of life as teachers, writers, or in society, were her pupils, and all cherish her memory with a fervency mingled with awe, seldom equaled in similar relations in life. The salient trait of her character was strength; but she was much besides; she was large-hearted, philanthropic, just, loving, though often stern. She gave the rare opportunities her school afforded for higher education, to many who could not have otherwise enjoyed them

providing both board and tuition for such assistance as they could render in the household, "which" as one of her beneficiaries remarks, "was no more than I needed for exercise." This lady writes of telling the venerable teacher, years after, how grateful she felt for the rare chance she had enjoyed. The reply was, that though she had helped hundreds in that way, it had been no pecuniary loss, but "perhaps the oil and the meal had been blessed on that account." She had a varied life; born and educated in England, and orphaned in early youth. A sea voyage being recommended for impaired health, she came to America in 1793, in the company of Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young, ministering Friends. She was then seventeen years old. The yellow fever prevailing in Philadelphia, she tarried on Long Island until it had subsided, and then removed to that city, where she was active in all charitable work. Her cousin, James Ecroyd, moved to the wilds of Pennsylvania, called the "Beech Woods." She accompanied him to attend to his domestic concerns, and she endured the privations of frontier life with a brave, cheerful spirit. Afterward in caring for her brother's large family of motherless children, her unusual powers and gifts for the teaching and for the discipline of youth, were developed. Thus was her vocation discovered; thenceforth she taught, until nearly fourscore. In some instances three generations were her pupils. She espoused the anti-slavery cause at its beginning, with ardor, and was a reader of the *Liberator* for years. By most careful abstinence, she bore her testimony against using the products of slave labor. She once told the writer that she was implicated in the wrong only in the use of paper; this was unavoidable, and, being made of cotton which had done one work, cost no increase of unrequited toil. She loved animals; the cultivation of flowers was a delight to her—probably the first verbena in a country garden was a scarlet, which

grew a mass of brilliant bloom for her—the wallflowers, and the daisies too, figured in long array, in memory of the English home. Dr. Alexander Thompson, one of the best florists and botanists of his day, said he owed his taste in this direction, to her.

This sketch of one of the best educators of her time must suffice. Could less be said where so much more is merited? When the world learns that faithful teachers are its best benefactors, the story of such lives will be told and treasured with care.

In 1821, twenty-three arrivals are noted. Among these were the young man, now the venerable Mathias Hutchinson, and his parents, from Buckingham, Pennsylvania. A letter from him on Christmas day last, in a hand as perfect as copper-plate, says; "I am eighty-four years old to-day. In the spring of 1821 I moved with my parents to Bradley's, now called Northville. In the fall of 1819 I traveled through this section of the country, making a journey of 1,940 miles on horseback." Further on he bears testimony to the good sermons he heard from Phebe Field and Sarah Tallcott, who, with Martha Tupper, were the only preachers in Scipio meeting for a long period.

The most of the settlers in the above estimate, with some not enumerated, established themselves within a radius of ten or twelve miles, from the Meeting house. There were indulged meetings for members more remote, at Amaziah Taber's, near Owasco Lake, at Elmira, at Salmon Creek, at Hector, at Union Springs, at Sempronius, at Aurora, and at North Street; all under the care of committees from the monthly meeting. Salmon Creek meeting dates from 1809; it was held sometimes in Paul Cogswell's house, sometimes in John Kenyon's, until a house for worship was built about 1819. Welcome Mosher, Jas. McLaughlin, and Samuel Green, Samuel and Elizabeth Bull, and others, belonged to this meeting.

The meeting at Sempronius was instituted in 1808. Ebenezer Young, Seth Cushman, Henry Pearsall, Russell and Louisa Frost, were some of the members, also Jonathan Halsted and family. The last named ultimately settled at Salmon Creek.

Hector meeting was allowed in 1813 at the house of Cornelius Carman. Union Springs meeting followed in 1814, held at the house of John Earl; Aurora meeting in 1816. North Street preparative was instituted in 1817, and the meeting house west of Scipioville was built in 1820. Sempronius, Skaneateles and Elmira were severally granted preparative meetings in 1819. The one at Elmira was held in the house of Townsend Carpenter.

The members who attended Skaneateles meeting were Wm. Willets and family, David Arnold and family, Charity Thorne and her family, and others. Those at North Street, were Chas. Gifford, Aaron Baker, Joseph Hoxie, and their families, also Joseph and Lois Estes, and others. Union Springs, John and Elizabeth Earl, Wm. S. and Eliza Burling, Elisha and Margaret Southwick and their daughters, and Mary Hart and her family.

Before quitting the pleasant paths of reminiscence, forgetting, for the moment, the great schism, and also the order of chronology, let us take note of the coming of another Friend, originally from Burlington, New Jersey. Josiah Letchworth, with his wife Ann and their family settled in Scipio in 1831. Such a man is an event in the history of the place he calls home. He identified himself with the public weal. Interested in the temperance cause, he gave it both pen and voice, with a zeal that never waned. His interest in the education and training of youth took him to the public schools of his vicinity, where he sometimes gave lectures prepared for the purpose. More fond of humor than some thought befitted the sober sect, his sallies of mirth

were often a bright disguise for some truth he would enforce. Many of the children of his time will cherish to old age, the memory of the smile and the word of cheer he never forgot to give them. How few realize the influence of these ripples of kindness, impalpable as the light and air which report them. He loved and cultivated flowers and sometimes indulged in writing poetry. In short he enjoyed life with zest, because he knew how to get the best of it.

Out of the past beams another radiant face. In the autumn of 1843, the row of women who sat on the facing seat in North Street meeting of orthodox Friends, was brightened by the addition of a brilliant and beautiful woman whom David Thomas had brought from Lockport to preside in his home.

Edna D. Thomas was a native of Massachusetts, but came to Western New York in early youth. From the time of the construction of the Erie canal, she lived in Lockport; thus identified with its growth, and its interests, she was as it were, a patron saint of the city. Then the wife of a physician, Dr. Isaac Smith, her warm heart learned the sorrows of a wide range of life; and it is safe to say, that no soul hungry for sympathy or aid, failed to find her aglow to minister to its need. She was emphatically, "Everybody's friend;" especially active and interested in the Temperance as well as in the Anti-Slavery cause. At a time when intemperance was alarmingly prevalent in Lockport, she gave the impetus to founding a Women's Temperance Society, of which she was made president. She braved mobs to give her presence to Anti-Slavery meetings, when it was the fashion to mob these gatherings. She also believed in the equal rights of woman and never lacked the courage of her principles. In a verbal contest, a sparkling flash of eye and speech would transfix her foe, whose enjoyment of the humor was more than an antidote to the chagrin of defeat.

To the new home in Cayuga, she came, brightening it with her illuminating presence.

In the season of flowers David Thomas's garden was heavily taxed to supply her flower mission. On meeting days, a basket of bouquets generally adorned the lobby of the meeting house, which were dispensed by her, at the close of the solemn hour.

When this life, so full, and brave, and earnest, was ended, though measuring more than four score years, those who loved her, felt, not that an aged friend was gone, but that a strong, true woman was taken from the midst of her usefulness, and that they must henceforth miss the welcoming smile and the hand-grasp, which had cheered all, blessed with the friendship of this young spirit endowed with the glory of a grand old age.

Your historian has no record of the years from 1822 until 1827. Greenfield and Amy Iden came from Buckingham, Bucks County, Penn., in Nov. 1822, and settled permanently, west of the Ridge road, between Sherwood and Poplar Ridge. Both lived to be nearly ninety years of age. He leaves this legacy of business integrity which deserves record. Years of prosperity succeeding adversity, with a nobleness that can never be too much admired, he returned to his former home, and sought and paid those he owed. He was a man of thought, well read, and so far in advance of his time, as to be an abolitionist.

The venerable John Searing came from Long Island and settled not far from his present home, west of Poplar Ridge, in May, 1823. Nearly sixty years has the community in which he lives, enjoyed the influence and example of this model farmer and upright man.

John and Sarah Ann Merritt, well remembered by the community of which they were respected members for many years, came from Dutchess Co., in the spring of 1825,

bringing three sons and four daughters. They established themselves a mile east of Poplar Ridge. Isaac and Susan Jacobs and their six children came from Uwchlan, Chester Co., Penn., in the same year, and eventually made a permanent home near King's Ferry. He, like his brother-in-law, David Thomas, loved the cultivation of fruit and flowers, and did much in this way to improve the taste of Southern Cayuga. He was also an active opponent of Slavery. The families of both, as well as many other Friends, abstained from the use of dry goods and groceries which were the product of slave labor. This required self-denial in many ways. The groceries were often not of the best quality, the texture of the prints was coarse and there were but four varieties of pattern, which gave little scope for the exercise of taste by the conscientious, who recognized each others' faithfulness, in the figures of their dresses.

Nehemiah and Sarah S. Merritt, from Dutchess Co., settled east of Poplar Ridge in the spring of 1827. Sarah S. Merritt was a devoted Friend, prominent in the affairs of the Society and earnest for the maintenance of its testimonies. She lived nearly ninety four years, and retained her mental powers until near the end.

Wm. and Mary King, of blessed memory, with their sons John and Alfred, came from Stroudsburg in 1828, originally from England.

With hesitation I now approach the difficult, delicate task of speaking of the division

In midsummer of the year 1828, the division occurred in the Scipio monthly meeting of Friends. It had transpired in the yearly meeting, held in that spring in New York City, so it was inevitable that the subordinate meetings take the same course or identify themselves with one or the other party; a crisis of trial, grief and bitterness. The membership in New York meeting was 18,445. It divided thus :



Orthodox 5,913, the larger body 12,532. The great schism began the previous year in the largest body of Friends in America, the Philadelphia yearly meeting, whose aggregate of membership was 26,476. When divided, the numbers were, 9,323 Orthodox, 17,953 of the larger body.

One noble deed, the last unitedly done by this body, brightens this period of fierce dissension, an act of humanity toward a part of the despised African race in North Carolina. There was a pause in the strife and all agreed to raise \$3,000 to assist the yearly meeting of North Carolina in removing from that state, a large number of colored people who had been manumitted, and were liable to be re-enslaved if they remained in their native land. The quarterly meetings afterward paid their quotas, the money was raised, paid to the treasurer, and did its beneficent work. This episode illustrates remarkably how *heads* could differ hotly, and *hearts* unite and respond to the holiest dictates of duty.

The controversy was lengthened by the large property interests of the society, both educational and religious. As no compromise was reached, it is due the larger body to say, that a settlement was proposed by it, and rejected by the other. In Philadelphia, the property was adjudged to the smaller body, it being in the judgment of the Courts "The Society of Friends."

In New York, the Chancellor decided for the larger body, saying in his decision, that their creeds though differently expressed, were substantially the same. In 1851, the larger body, in the City of New York, divided the property thus decreed to it, with the orthodox Friends, to mutual satisfaction. The same was done in Baltimore as late as 1865. In this church without a written creed, this nursery of character and of strong individuality, it is not so strange that differences finally became irreconcilable, as that a Society thus founded, should continue for nearly 200 years, without serious dissensions.

According to Wm. Penn., "the Light of Christ within, as God's gift, for man's salvation, was the fundamental principle, the main distinguishing principle of Friends." Barclay speaks thus of it, "By this we understand a spiritual, heavenly, invisible principle, in which God as Father, Son and Spirit dwells, a measure of which divine and glorious life, is in all men as a seed, which of its own nature draws, invites, inclines to God." Speaking of the Scriptures, he says, "They are a secondary will, subordinate to the Spirit, from which they derive all their excellency and certainty; they are a declaration of the fountain not the fountain itself. The letter of the Scriptures is outward, a mere declaration of good things, but not the good things themselves, therefore it neither is, nor can be, the chief nor principal rule of Christians." Still the early Friends acknowledged the divine authority of the Scriptures, and were willing that all their doctrines and practices should be tried by them. But they believed that none could rightly understand and interpret them without the aid of the Holy Spirit, "which is the first and principal leader," says Barclay. These extracts are given that we may see what breadth there was in the bond of their union, for differences of opinion, which no doubt existed from the earliest years of the Society. Is it then strange that when the great schism occurred, each party should devoutly believe and stoutly maintain, that it was the "Society of Friends," and that each should draw from the archives of a common inheritance, the testimony of the fathers in proof of its assertion and its belief? And is it strange that both could substantiate their claim? Is it not also equally probable that both had unconsciously diverged somewhat from the faith of Ancient Friends, developing in divergent lines, views which *they* held, without discovering the lack of agreement?

Often in history, a single life precipitates and formulates, feelings and principles, which had, as it were, been in the air. So it must have been in this instance.

In 1775, a young man appeared in the ministry in Jericho, Long Island. A character of depth and power, he possessed a commanding presence, a natural and forcible eloquence, and gave the seal to his faith by a life of such excellence as no enemy could gainsay.

Such was Elias Hicks, whose name was given to the larger body, at the division. As it never accepted the designation, it has been avoided in these pages. In reading his life I can not see that he taught any startling innovations on the ancient doctrines, so far as I have read or understand them. To give his thought correctly permit some extracts from a letter written by him shortly before his death, to a friend: "Some may query, what is the cross of Christ? To this I answer, it is the perfect law of God, written on the tablet of the heart of every rational creature, in such indelible characters that all the power of mortals cannot erase it. Neither is there any power or means given to the children of men, but this inward law and light, by which the true and saving knowledge of God can be obtained; and by this inward law and light all will be either justified or condemned. It is evident that nothing but this inward light and law as it is heeded and obeyed, ever did or ever can make a true and real christian and child of God."

No division occurred at this time (1827) in New England, nor in North Carolina. Some years after, a dissatisfaction arose in regard to the writings of Joseph John Gurney, for just the opposite reason to that which caused the dissent from the views of Elias Hicks. It was urged that Joseph John Gurney, taught too literally the doctrines of the Anglican Church, and held lightly, or failed to emphasize the principle of the "indwelling light," while his life also was one of such exalted goodness, that none could doubt the source of its illumination. This ended in a division which also reached the Scipio meeting of orthodox Friends.

In 1833, Job Otis, a friend from New Bedford, Mass., removed hither, with his family. He was a man of keen intellect, educated and learned in all the lore of the Society and strong in its faith. He dissented strongly from the views taught by Joseph John Gurney, showing where they were at variance with those of the ancient Friends. Not a few saw with him. But not being able to convince the larger part of the meeting, of the truth of their position, and believing the views it represented would prove subversive of principles they held precious, they withdrew to themselves, feeling bound to do so by what they believed the cause of Truth.

The pen so unequal to the portrayal which it would have gladly omitted, in closing, would pay a tribute to the people whose light has vindicated itself by the nearness of the work and walk of many of its followers, to the Truth. May the brightness and beauty of such sainted lives, as Pennington, Barclay, John Woolman, Antony Benezet, Elizabeth Fry, and a host of others, blind us to this dark page. Let us only remember how much this peculiar and remarkable little body has contributed to the growth of true christian civilization.

It was first to place woman beside man in the church, and is still alone in that regard, for which she will embalm its memory, if ever the need be. Its William Penn taught an Indian policy which our government would do well to learn. From its beginning its testimony against war has been unflinching. It early purged itself of complicity with human slavery, and furnished some of the most effective fighters against that iniquity; the doctrine of immediate, unconditional emancipation, which became the watchword of English and American Abolitionists, was the thought of the quakeress, Elizabeth Heyrick.

Its Benj. Lundy began the Anti-Slavery agitation in this country, to which its Whittier, consecrated his muse and its

Lucretia Mott, bore her testimony. In short in every field of work for humanity and for the growth of justice and truth in the earth, may be found, not lagging, but foremost, members of the different Societies of Friends. Though no longer a unit, their methods of work are similar.

Whether they are one and all, to lose their distinctive place among the sects, is not for us to forecast, assured that the "Light" which has led them, that maketh for righteousness endureth forever.

## A P P E N D I X .

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From 1808 to 1821 inclusive the following members were added to Scipio Monthly meeting of Friends :

- 1808.—Nine Partners, Dutchess Co. : Wm. Mosher, Jonathan Dean ; Hannah Mosher and three children—Deborah, Sarah and Henry. Chappaqua, Westchester Co. : Samuel and Katy Weeks. Amawalk, Westchester Co. : Abraham and Elizabeth Lockwood. New York City : Aaron and Sarah Baker. Washington Co., N. Y., John and Mary Kenyon and their son John ; Ruth Allen ; David and Wealthy Frink and three daughters.
- 1809.—Washington Co., N. Y. : Nicholas Sherman. Coeyman's : Benjamin Stanton. Galway : Isaiah and Meribah Cogswell and three children. Duanesburg : Silas and Abigail Cook ; Philip Allen ; Benj. Hoag and wife and four children. Uxbridge, Mass. : Alonzo and Wait Thayer ; Asa Potter. Northbridge, Mass. : Samuel, Ezra and Olive Southwick. Plainfield, New Jersey, : Levi Gaskell ; Agnes Haines ; Wm. and Rachel Webster and their seven children. Shrewsbury, New Jersey : Thomas Hance ; Wilbur and Susannah Dennis requested for their children, Cyrus, Ann Eliza, and Seneca.
- 1810.—Nine Partners : Ruth and Mary Mosher. Hudson, N. Y. : Elizabeth Aldrich. Hardwick, New Jersey : John and Anna Laign and five children ; John and Rebecca Brotherton and six minor children, of whom Enoch Brotherton is the only survivor. Little Egg Harbor, New Jersey : Samuel and Hannah Shourds, their seven sons and two daughters. Dartmouth, Mass. :

- Joseph Lapham ; Phebe Easton. New Bedford, Mass. : Peleg and Eliza Slocum ; Lazarus Ewer. Easton, N. Y. : Elizabeth Mosher and daughter Amy. Duaneburg : Isaac and Abigail Higgins. Galway, N. Y. : Jonathan and Sarah Swan and son Jonathan ; Charles and Mary Carman ; Amaziah and Judith Allen and three children. Dartmouth, Mass. : Benjamin Howland, Smith and Sylvia, with their children Humphrey, Frederic, Slocum, Kijah, Sylvia, Howland and Cornelius.
- 1811.—Dartmouth, Mass. : Peleg and Eunice White and their four children—Abner, Amy, David and Susan ; Sarah Smith ; Cook and Rebecca Howland. New York City : Wm. S. and Eliza Burling and their children—Mary, Caroline, Thomas and William. Danby : Elisha and Margaret Southwick and their daughters, Cynthia, Sophia and Phebe. Chappaqua, Westchester Co. : John Mosher and nine children—Henry, Hannah, Loretta, Deborah, Sarah, Judith, Isaac, Israel and Samuel. Amawalk : Sarah T. Howland, wife of Humphry Howland. Uxbridge, Mass. : Benjamin Bowen.
- 1812.—DeRuyter, Madison Co. : David and Rest Wood and nine children ; Isaac Scott and his wife ; Joseph and Martha Darbyshire. Rhode Island : Jonathan and Abigail Green and seven children—Sarah, Abigail, Anna, David, William, Joseph and Jacob. Amawalk : Jane Purdy ; Sarah Underhill ; Anne Bloomer. Oblong : Wm. and Mary Wooden. New York : Elizabeth, second wife of Aaron Baker. Pennsylvania : Samuel Green.
- 1813.—Rhode Island : John and Elizabeth Earl and Samuel Williams. Easton : Jacob Coffin. Coeyman's : Mchitable Wing and four children. Long Island : Ruth, wife of Asa Potter. New Bedford : Samuel and Lydia Janney and family. Dartmouth : (Gardner and Rhoda Wainer and son Michael) ; Jonathan and Edith Sisson.

- Galway : Charles and Phebe Gifford and their children—John, David and Mary; David and Hannah Chidester and three children—Benjamin, Nathan and Phebe.
- 1814.—Dartmouth, (Abigail Weeks); Jos. Kirby; Meribah Slocum. New Bedford : Jos. and Deborah Howland and their four children; Obadiah Janney; Ruth Swift and seven children; Wm. Davis; Jno. and Catherine Janney and nine children; Rachel Sharpstone; Caleb Manchester, joined by request. Hudson : Thos. and Mary Alsop and son John; Esek and Elizabeth Mosher. Amawalk : Jesse and Phebe Field and daughter Deborah; Jos. and Sarah Kniffin. Easton : Joseph and Eleanor Hoxie and family. Duanesburg : Jos. and Lois Estes. Queensbury : Isaac and Rebecca Starbuck. Chappaqua : Israel Cock and Elizabeth Cock.
- 1815.—Saratoga : Daniel and Barnabas Wing; Sarah Wing and three children; Ruth Wing. New York : Mary, wife of Richard Tallcot. Troy : Mary Hart, and children—Joseph, Sarah, Ann, Jane and John. Galway : Josiah and Dorcas Thompson and six children; Arnold and Huldah Comstock; received by request—Elisha and Hannah Eldridge; received by request—Lucretia Bowen; Clark Morrison. Sandwich, Mass. : Thomas and James Hoxie; Lazarus and Lydia Ewer. Creek Monthly Meeting : Major and Millicent Marshall; Austin Cross; Thomas Frost. Dartmouth : Wm. Smith; Barnabas Kirby; Riscom and May Kirby, six children.
- 1816.—Dartmouth : Elihu and Sarah Slocum and sons, Elihu and Ezra. Galway : Jerothman and Olive Allen. New Bedford : Wm. Dillingham. Chappaqua : Samuel Gale. Easton : Jas. and Margaret Kenyon; Benj. Kenyon. Westport : Perry and Elizabeth Sisson. Queensbury : Jno. and Hannah Winslow. Rhode Island : John E. Williams.



- 1817.—Cornwall: Townsend and Elizabeth Carpenter and eight children. Galway: Andrew Comstock; Mary, wife of Abner Gifford.
- 1818.—Amawalk: Willis and Ann Smith; Abel and Phebe Underhill; Rebecca, wife of Daniel Tallcot. Little Egg Harbor: Rachel Brown and Beulah Gray. Galway: Zebulon and Hannah Hall; Jno. and Phebe Hoxie. Sandwich: Betsey Hoxie.
- 1819.—Saratoga: Jos. S. and Judith Allen, and Eben Allen. Bridgewater: Jos. and Submit Frost, and seven minor children; Lydia P. Mott and Arthur her son. Chappaqua: Jacob and Eliza Griffin and two daughters. Amawalk: Wm. and Phebe Birdsall and nine minor children. Galway: Phiny Sexton; Anna S. Kenyon.
- 1820.—Galway: Samuel and Elizabeth Hall. New York: Isaac and Sarah Sutton and their five children. Chappaqua: Anna Underhill and two daughters.
- 1821.—Buckingham, Penn.: Thos. and Ann Casey Hutchinson their son Mathias Hutchinson. New York: Ambrose Cock, seven minor children.

NOTE.—The writer desires to return thanks to John Searing for the use of records, without which the foregoing paper could not have been written; and also to Samuel D. Otis for the loan of books, containing information and history of value concerning the Society of Friends.

THE INVENTORS AND INVENTIONS  
OF CAYUGA COUNTY, N. Y.

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Read before the Cayuga County Historical Society, at Auburn, N. Y.,  
September 21st, 1880.

BY CYRENUS WHEELER, JR.





Egyptian Flax Harvesting Scene.

## INVENTORS AND INVENTIONS OF CAYUGA COUNTY, N. Y.



THE subject of our paper this evening will be "The Inventors and Inventions of Cayuga County."

This County was originally included in Albany County, which was formed in 1683, and by subsequent statute was made to comprise everything within the Colony of New York, north and west of the present limits of that County, and all of Vermont. The County of Montgomery was formed from it, March 12, 1772,

under the name of Tyron, borne by the then Colonial Governor. Its present name was given it in honor of General Richard Montgomery of Revolutionary fame. Herkimer

County, (originally called Ergheimer,) was formed from Montgomery, February 16, 1791, and Onondaga County from Herkimer, March 5, 1794. Onondaga County at this time comprised the whole military tract, and from this was taken Cayuga County, March 8, 1799, and Seneca County from Cayuga in 1804, and a part of Tompkins County in 1817, and Cortland County from Onondaga in 1808.



FIG. 1.—Costume and Accoutrements of Man in the Reindeer Epoch, Stone Age.

In treating the subject, we must ask the kind indulgence of our hearers whilst brief allusion is made to some of the earlier inventions of the country and the world.

George Farquhar, two hundred years ago truly said, "Necessity, is the mother of invention." This necessity has been acknowledged in all times and in every age, and among every people has been acted upon. Invention antedates the flood, and was at an early day practiced by our first parents. After partaking of the forbidden fruit, they felt the *necessity* of being clothed; "And they sewed fig-leaves together, and made for themselves aprons," and thus became the *first inventors*, and *joint inventors* also, the record of which has been preserved in Genesis, third chapter and seventh verse. The question of dress from that day to this has been an important one, and

especially so in modern times to those fair daughters of Eve, who, with extensive wardrobes often feel in view of the rapid changes and wonderful inventions of fashion, that they "have nothing to wear."

The first necessity was food and clothing, the next shelter; and it is

recorded in the fourth chapter and seventeenth verse of the same book, that "Enoch builded a City"; and in the twentieth verse, that Jabel "was the father of such as dwell in tents;" in the



FIG. 2.—Grecian Lady in Dress of Old Style.

twenty-first verse, that his brother Jubal, "was the father of all such as handled the harp and organ;" and in the twenty-second verse we learn that Tubal Cain "was an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron." Invention at that early day, appears to have made rapid progress.

The City built by Enoch, was probably a collection of tents, and the people mainly led a pastoral life, as "Jabel was the father of such as dwell in tents, and have much cattle." In Genesis, eleventh chapter, third verse, we learn that the descendants of Noah on the plains of Shinar, invented brick for building a city, and erecting a tower, neither of which appear to have



FIG. 3.—Costume of Rich Bourgeoise, 14th Century.

been completed. Invention had reached a high standard, and the arts and commerce flourished in past ages.

In regard to this country, and more especially this County, and the inventions practiced here at an early day, it is proper to inquire. This County, before its settlement by the whites, was the hunting ground of the Cayugas, a tribe of the Six

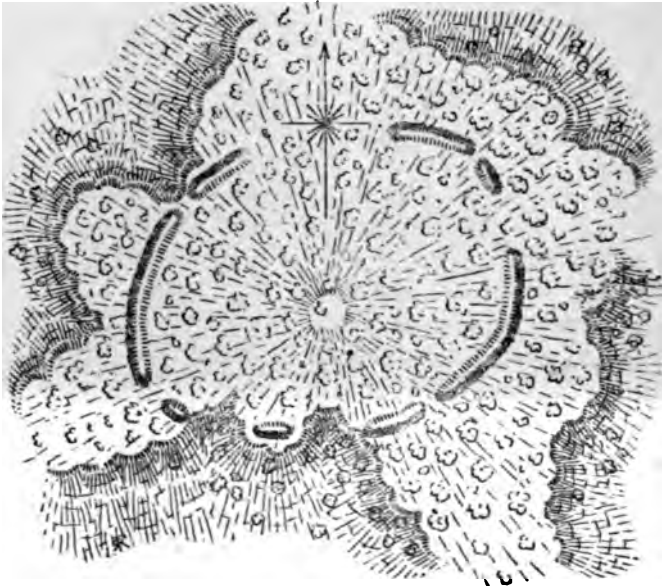


FIG. 4.—Plan of Ancient Work near Auburn, N. Y. (Fort Hill).—From *Ancient Monuments of the United States*, No. 1.—By E. G. Squier, *Harpers' Magazine*, May, 1880, p. 743.

Nations. Prior to their occupancy of it, another, and different race of people resided here. Agassiz has declared that, in his opinion, "America, so far as her physical history is concerned has been falsely denominated the 'New World.' Hers was the first dry land lifted out of the waters; hers, the first shore washed by the ocean that enveloped all the earth beside; and while Europe was represented only by

islands, rising here and there above the sea, America stretched an unbroken line of land, from Nova Scotia to the 'Far

West.' " The characteristics of this early race, can only be judged of by the vestiges of their works yet in existence, as found widely scattered all over the country.

It has been inferred that this race was an agricultural people, dependent upon the soil rather than the chase for support. When, or how they disappeared, is veiled in uncertainty. It is, however, clear that many centuries must have elapsed since they occupied the country.

The aborigines of the country possessed in a moderate degree, inventive talent which was born of their first great necessities—food and clothing; secondly, of the means for offence and defense;



FIG. 5.—Six Arrow Heads of Flint—Cayuga Tribe—  
From Ancient Town on "Cutting Place,"  
N. E. corner of City of Auburn, N. Y.

transportation; and fourthly, of a desire for ornamentation. Its manifestation is shown in their implements of the chase and warfare, the bow and arrows and spears, the flint heads of



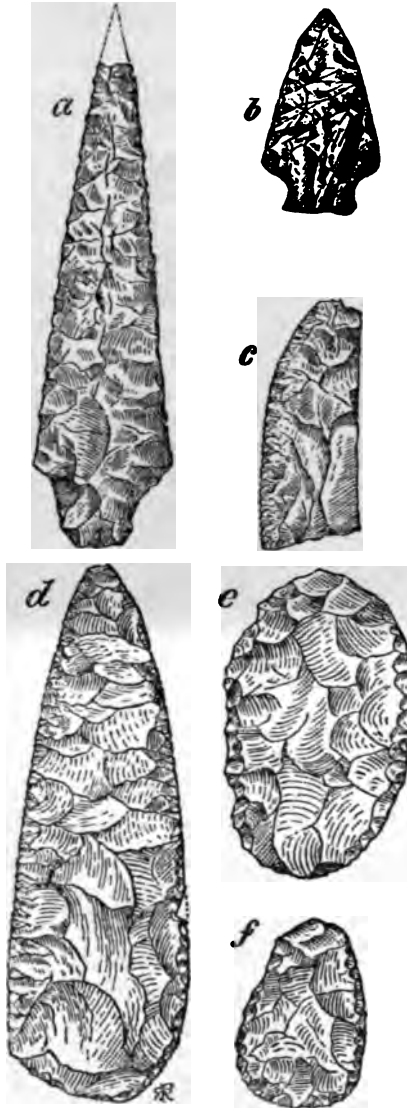


FIG. 6.—*a, b*, Flint Spear Heads; *c*, Knife; *d*, unknown; *e, f*, Celts or Scrapers. From farm of Ulysses Wright, Esq., on Franklin Street, Auburn, N. Y.

which, found in different localities, by their difference in form and finish, indicating difference of degree in the skill and inventive talent of the makers.

Their wigwams, their dress including their leggings and moccasins, attest their inventive talent and mechanical skill; and the light bark canoe, (Fig. 8.) as a means of transportation, not only evinces skill, but an adaptation of means to ends in harmony with their surroundings.

Rude pottery, as well as beads are found and attest the same faculty. When, or by whom these rude arts were first practiced, is uncertain; how long they had been practiced will remain forever unknown. They were, however, so practiced at the earliest date of which we have any authentic record of this country, which goes back to the early part of the seventeenth century.

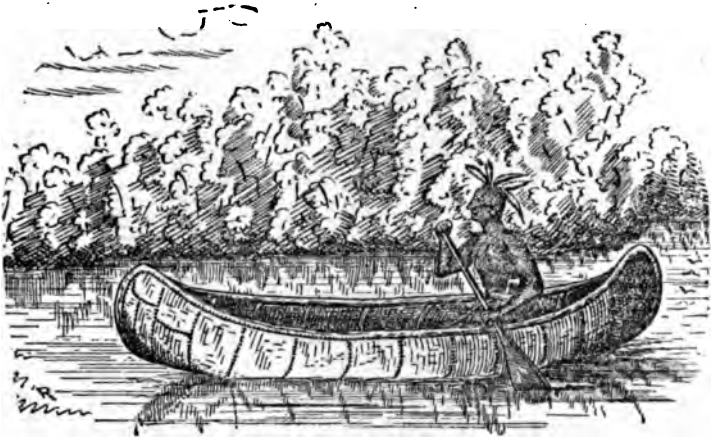
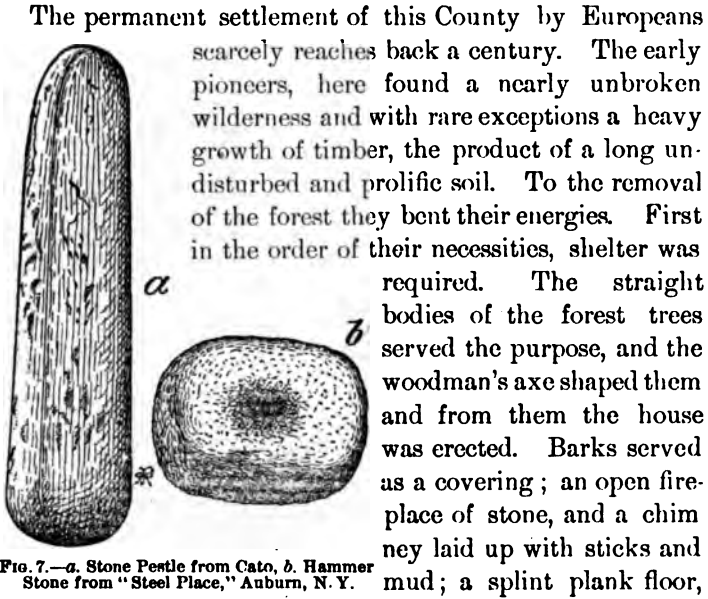


FIG. 8.

a door on wooden hinges and a "latch-string always out," completed the early home of the pioneer.

The furniture was scant and of the simplest kind. This home, however rude, was the centre of as much real happiness as more pretentious mansions often afford. As fast

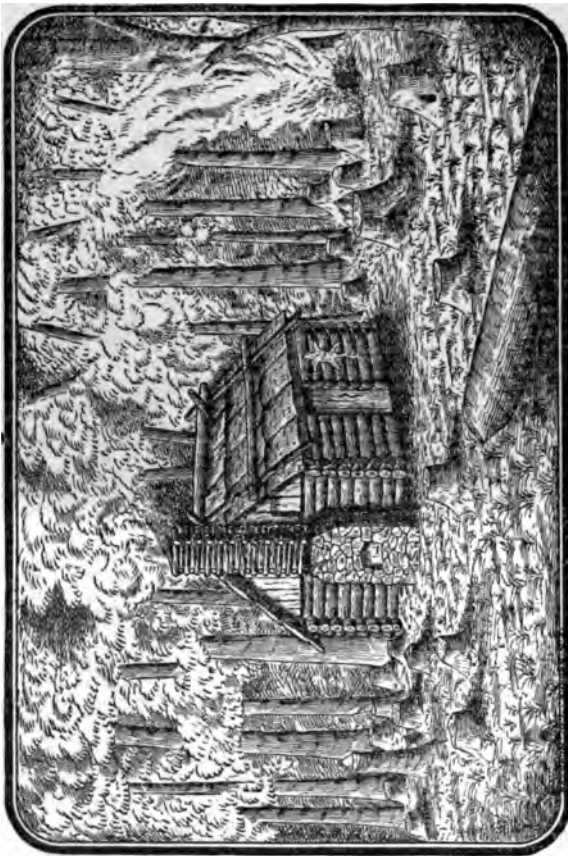


FIG. 8.—"Log Cabin" and "Clearing."

as the forest disappeared, the cultivation of the soil progressed. The implements in use were adapted to their necessities. The axe that cleft the timber, opened the ground for the reception of seed when thickly spread roots forbade the use of the hoe.

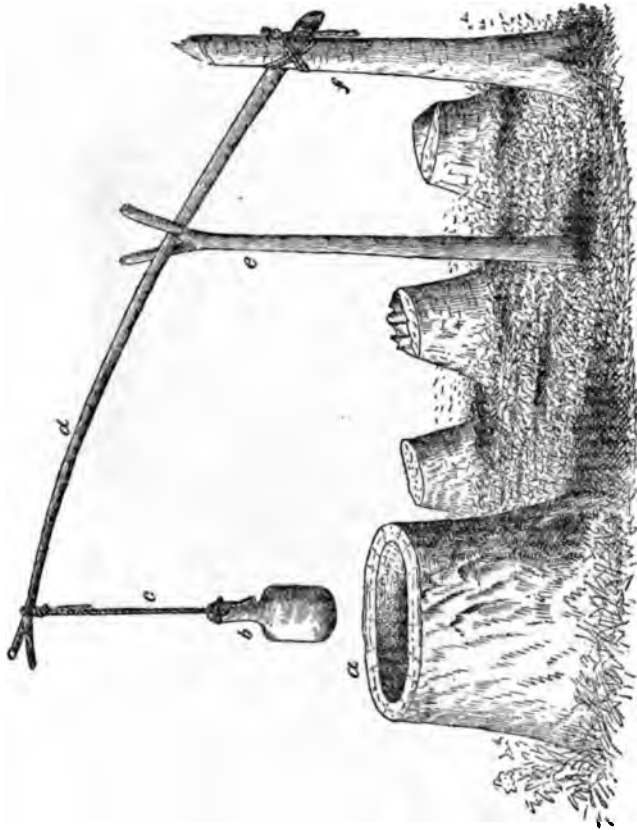


FIG. 10.—Sump Mortar of Early Settlers. *a*, Mortar; *b*, Pestle; *c*, Rope Carrying *b*; *d*, Spring-pole; *e*, Crooked Support for *d*; *f*, Tree to which end of *d* is lashed.

The crop of corn, when raised, was converted into samp and coarse meal by hand, aided by the stump of a tree



FIG. 11.—Primitive Corn Mill, Stone Age. (Figuler.)

hollowed out by the axe and fire to form a mortar, and a large wooden pestle suspended above it from a spring-pole.

The forest also yielded sweetness. The sugar maple, abundant in this County in those days yielded, in early

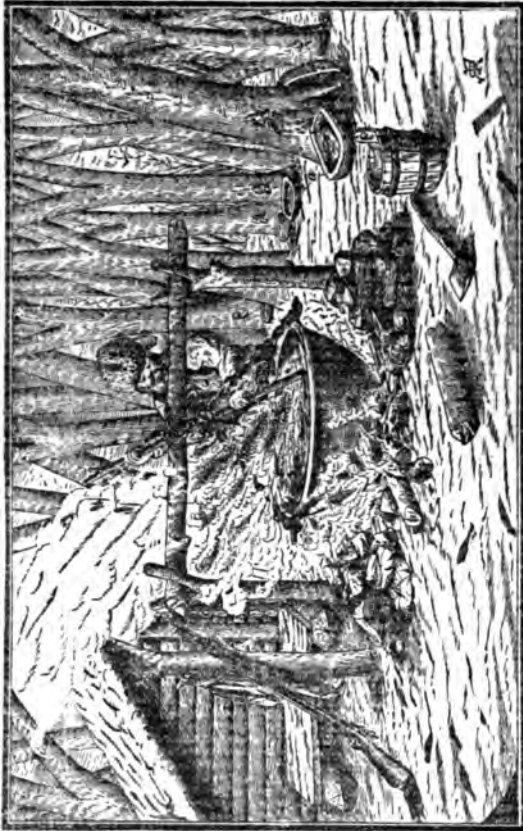


FIG. 12.—“Sugar Camp” of an Early Settler.

spring, an abundant harvest of sap, which was caught in troughs shaped by the axe, and boiled down to a delicious syrup making more palatable the corn meal cake, and the boiled sump.

With the advance of improvements, animals were introduced, and oxen became important aids in subduing the

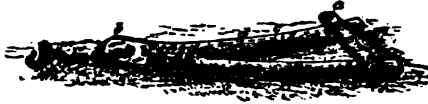


FIG. 13.—“Log-boat,” of Early Settlers.

wilderness and cultivating the soil. The implements and machinery in use were of the simplest kind; but of the kind best adapted to the necessities of the time. The first vehicles in use, were the “log boat,” and the “log-sled.” The first was formed of the crotch of a tree shaped by the axe, to slide over the ground. To this, the oxen, were attached by a chain, and it served much the same purpose as the stone-boat of the present day.



FIG. 14.—“Log-sled,” of Early Settlers.

The log-sled was an improvement upon the log-boat, and served its special purposes. It was constructed in much the same form as the log boat, the forks of the triangle being left longer, and selected with a view to securing a long curved runner; and the main stem was hewn down, and left long enough to form a tongue, to which the oxen were attached. On top of the forked or runner part, was fastened a rough floor, and a raised bench for a seat.

This was the conveyance for long distances; it served to take the “grist to mill” (one of which, and we believe the first, was erected in what is now the city of Auburn, in 1794, and another in what



FIG. 15.—A Primitive Spinner. (Figuer.)

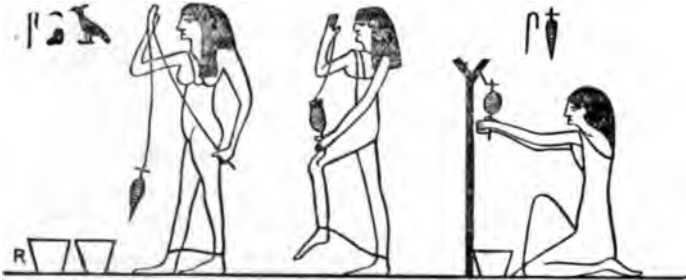


FIG. 16.—Egyptian Women using the Distaff.

is now Ludlowville, in 1798.) The County was then without roads, and fallen and decaying timber encumbered the ground, and this conveyance would ride over obstacles, which

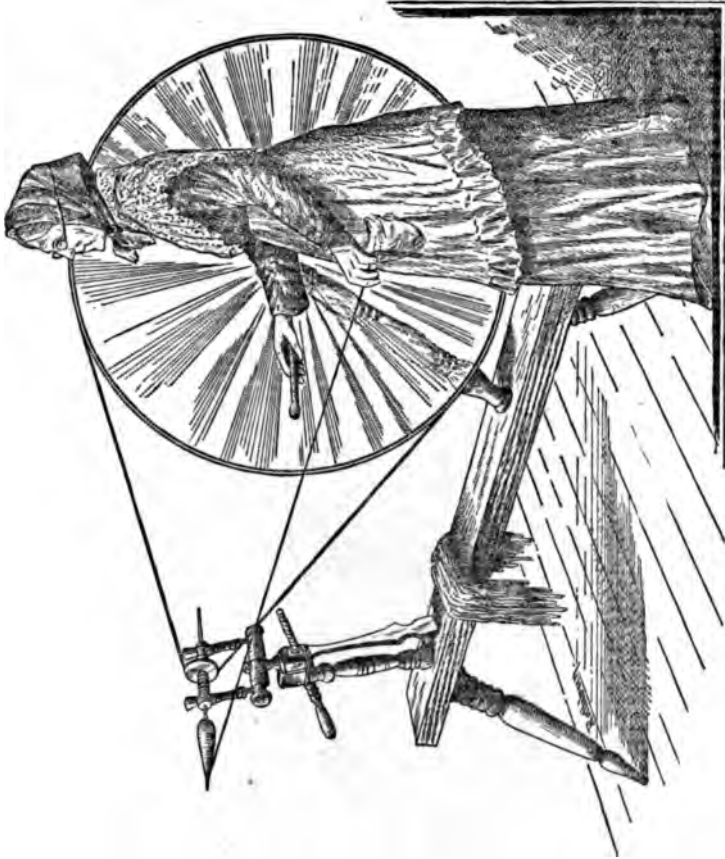


FIG. 17.—Olden-time Spinning and Spinning Wheel.

could not be safely surmounted by the log-boat or wheeled vehicles. In those early days, matron and maid availed themselves of this mode of conveyance to attend religious services and social gatherings. Whether this was more con-





FIG. 18.—Reel of the Olden Time.

ducive to Christianity, or good digestion, we leave others to decide.

These and other improvements and inventions not named, were none of them covered by patents, and in fact antedate the patent laws of this country, and we admit that we cannot name with certainty, the particular persons to whom the credit of these inventions is due; although we can name some of the early pio-

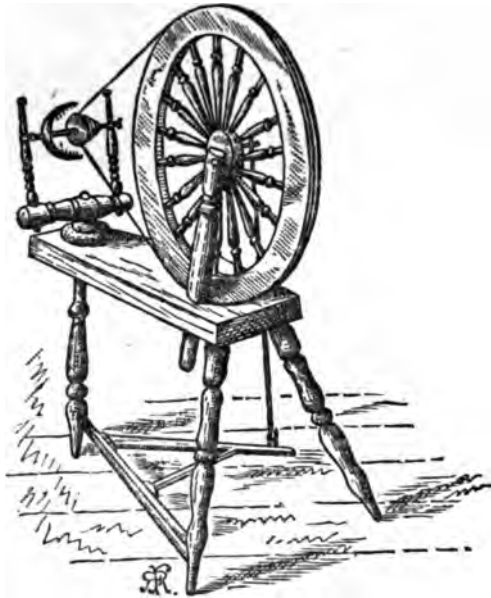


FIG. 19.—Spinning Wheel for Flax.

neers who practiced those arts with advantage to themselves and to the County.





Fig. 20.—Eastern Mode of Churning in Skin Bottles.



Fig. 21.—Early Mode of Churning. The "Dash-Churn."

The first white settlers in the present limits of the County, were John Harris, from Harrisburgh, Pa., in 1778, who located at Cayuga, where he established the first ferry for crossing the lake. Roswell Franklin, from Wyoming, who located near Aurora in 1789, and Benjamin Avery, at Tallcot's Corners, in the same year. In 1790, Elisha Durkee



FIG. 22.—The Modern Rotary Churn,  
Blanchard type.

and Edward Paine settled near Aurora. Colonel John Hardenbergh settled in Auburn in 1793, and erected a grist mill in 1794, and the place was known as Hardenbergh's Corners until 1805, when it took its present name. Charles Kendall, Ezekiel Landon, and Alanson Tracy, were also early settlers in Scipio.

These persons, or some of them at least, and many others not named, practiced such arts at an early day in Cayuga County.

From 1793, onward to 1810, the County rapidly increased in population, as at that time, the census shows a population of 29,840. The industries of the County, too, were no less marked than its population. At that time, 1,360 looms were in operation, producing 340,870 yards of cloth. Eleven Carding Mills, eleven Clothing Mills, nineteen Tanneries, and forty-seven Distilleries, were also in operation. A writer about that date, says: "The inhabitants clothe themselves principally in the productions of their own families; and were it not for the exhorbitant number of their distilleries, I should add are very temperate and industrious."

Cayuga County, from 1810 up to the present time, has, we think, in its enterprise and industries, kept fully up to the necessities of the times, and will compare favorably with any other county or locality. Whilst Agriculture, Manufactures and Commerce are inseparable and mutually dependent on each other, it is not improper to inquire how much the success of all these is due to the skill of the inventor, stimulated and protected by the patent laws of the country.

The system of granting patents was not known to the ancients, and, in many countries does not at the present time exist. The system was not, as many suppose, an invention of some New England Yankee, though New England Yankees are many of them inventors; but from Old England we derived our patent laws, and like every thing else of English origin, we have improved upon them. In England the granting of patents was based on a statute passed in 1624, in the reign of James the First.

In France, the earliest patent law was in 1791. The patent system of the United States of America, has grown up under a positive grant in the Federal Constitution. The first act was passed in 1790. The law was amended in 1793, and the term was for fourteen years with a provision for extending the term of the patent, until the amendment of the law, July 3, 1832, and this merely indicated how the application to Congress for an extension should be made; the laws having from time to time been amended to the general law now in force relating to patents, which is that of 1870. By the act of 1836, patents were granted for fourteen years, and provision was made for an extension in certain cases for seven years more. In 1861, the original term was fixed at seventeen years, and extensions prohibited. Patents for designs may be taken out, for three and one-half, seven or fourteen years, as the applicant may elect.

The whole number of patents granted for inventions by the United States from 1790 to November 30, 1880, inclusive, is.....	235,059
For Designs,.....	12,049
For Trade-marks,.....	8,108
For Labels,.....	2,367

Making a total of,..... 257,583

Of this number, 474 were granted to residents of Cayuga County, for inventions; the earliest one being granted to Roswell Towsley of Scipio, for a plow, January 11, 1812, and the last one Oct. 26, 1880, to J. M. Hurd, and J. W. Mosher, of Auburn, for a washing machine. Of the patents granted, 68 were for harvesters; 11 for carriage axles and boxes; 12 for plows; 10 for harvester knife grinders; 9 for washing machines; 8 for clothes wringers; 8 for churns; 8 for threshing machines; and the balance distributed over a wide field embracing a large variety of subjects, including a cherry-stoner, carpet-stretcher, animal poke, stump extractor, life-boat, floating dock, dental engine, steam engine, match safe, and mill stone. Among the patentees are found ladies, physicians, dentists, lawyers, bakers and brewers, blacksmiths, silversmiths, machinists and manufacturers, mayors, ex-mayors and aldermen.

Of the earlier Inventors and Inventions, but little can with certainty be learned, as the destruction of the Patent Office and its records, by fire in 1836, cut off that source of information except in a few cases, where the specifications and drawings were afterwards restored. With the later Inventors and Inventions, much difficulty has been experienced in obtaining the necessary facts.

From 1790 to 1836, inclusive, forty-six patents were granted to residents of Cayuga County; of which, ten were for plows; eight for threshing machines; five for stave sawing and jointing; two for spinning wheels; three

for washing machines, and one each for a churn, harrow, mill-stone, morticing machine, hand rake, potash, pump, raising water, saddle, bedstead, fanning mill, fence wire, knife sharpener, furnace, shears, cordage, weavers' harness, and manufacturing brandy from domestic articles. From this, it will be seen that all the threshing machine patents, and all the plow patents except two, were granted prior to 1837. The earliest patent issued to a resident of what is now Cayuga County, was for a plow.

It will be impossible in the limited time, to more than briefly allude to a few of the four hundred and seventy-four inventors of Cayuga County; and notice of many of the inventions is necessarily omitted, from inability to obtain the required information.

Wm. H. Ward appears as an active inventor, covering a wide field which embraces car-brakes and car-couplings, bullet machinery, rotary steam-engines, gear wheel, harvester rake, &c.

M. C. Cronk appears as another inventor. Ten patents were granted him on washing machines, clothes dryers, bottle-stoppers, bed bottoms, and so forth.

Jacob Brinkerhoff appears as an improver of corn-shellers, clothes wringers, barbed fence wire, and fence posts.

S. W. and J. F. Palmer, are granted various patents on clothes wringers, clothes dryers, reels, and snow shovels.

Allen Sherwood secured patents for improvements in grain binders, mowing machines, corn-shellers, etc.

A. R. Reynolds, patents for tempering steel and knife sections.

George W. Tripp, for dental chairs and dental engines.

George J. Letchworth and Byron C. Smith appear as inventors and patentees for improvements in hames.

John H. Osborne, as an improver of tables and steam heaters.

W. L. Bundy holds patents for his improvements in napkin hooks and sleeve buttons.

David Wright, from *legal defences*, has turned his attention to *farm fences* and fruit barrels, and holds patents therefor.

All of these inventions have merit, and many of them are undoubtedly important and useful.

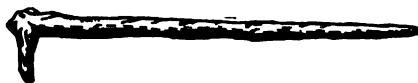


FIG. 23.—Primitive Hoe of Wood, in Natural Form.

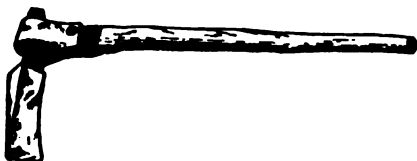


FIG. 24.—Primitive Hoe, having Blade of Bone.

Plows were of early origin. In the Old Testament, more than seven centuries before the Christian Era, in Isaiah, second chapter, and fourth verse, and in Micah, fourth chapter third verse, it is said, "They shall beat their swords into plow-shares." The plow of the ancient Egyptians, was of wood, a single crooked stick serving for the tail, and to this was fastened by a rope, a horizontal beam.

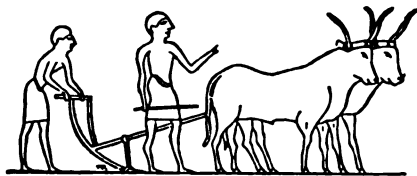


FIG. 25.—Egyptians Plowing.

The Greeks used a plow made from a tree having diverging branches, like the arms of an anchor.

These plows were probably shod with bronze or iron, as represented in Fig. 27.

Wooden plows, with wrought iron shares laid with steel and known as the "Bull Plow," were in use in this country within the memory of persons now living.

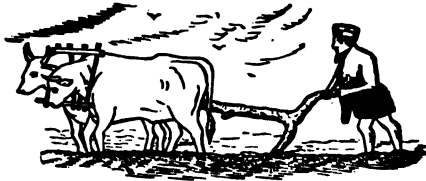


FIG. 26.—Plow of the Ancient Greeks.

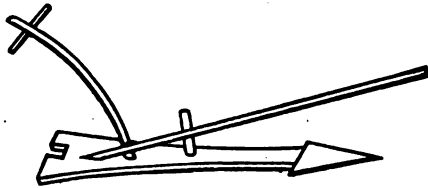


FIG. 27.

In the early part of the eighteenth century, plows were made in Holland, with mould-boards of wrought iron or steel, and some of these were introduced into England and Scotland about that time.

About 1784, James Small, of Berwickshire, Scotland, who wrote a treatise on plows, made cast iron mould-boards and wrought iron shares, and in 1785 made cast iron shares.

Charles Newbold, of New Jersey, obtained a patent June 26, 1797, for a plow. This is believed to have been the first cast iron plow made in the United States. The share was of wrought iron.

David Peacock, of Burlington, N. J., obtained a patent April 1, 1807. This had a cast iron mould-board, and a wrought iron share edged with steel.

**FIRST PATENT GRANTED TO A RESIDENT OF CAYUGA COUNTY.**

From the patent office records, it appears that Roswell



Towsley obtained the first patent granted to a resident of Cayuga County. This was for a plow, and was granted January 11, 1812. Mr. Towsley was a blacksmith by trade, and settled at Aurora, about 1806, previous to which, he

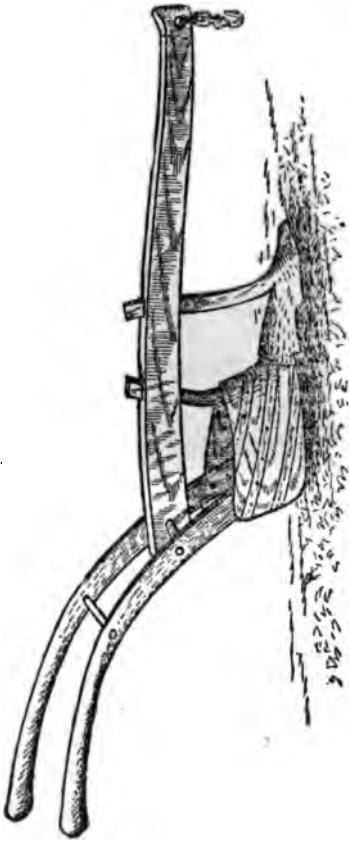


FIG. 88.—“Bull Plow.”

resided at Manlius in Onondaga County. Where he was born and the date of his birth are uncertain. He built in 1817, at Aurora, the first steam flouring mill west of the Hudson. The building was of stone and is now standing on the dock west of Richard Morgan and Son's store, has long been, and is now used as a store house. It had four run of stone, manufactured excellent flour, and it was claimed when in operation, that it cost nothing for fuel, as the large quantity of wood burnt produced ashes enough to pay for the wood. It was in operation only about a year when Mr. Towsley failed and soon after became de-

ranged. He was sent to the Lunatic Asylum in New York, where he died about 1820. He was an enterprising man, and carried on in addition to his flouring mill, a tannery, shoe shop, large blacksmith shop and a furnace.

The destruction of the patent office, with all its records, by fire in 1836, has deprived us of a knowledge of his invention from that source, and the lapse of time renders it impossible to ascertain with any degree of certainty the nature of the invention. As Towsley's invention, or at least his patent antedates that of Jethro Wood more than two years, and as he was running a furnace, it would be interesting to know the character of his invention.

Mathew Patrick, of Scipio, also obtained a patent on a plow, dated June 2, 1813. This antedates Wood's, more than a year. Of this invention nothing can be learned, and the name of the inventor is not within the recollection of the "oldest inhabitant."

Jonathan Swan, of Scipio, a *Friend*, was granted a patent July 5, 1814, and another April 24, 1824, for improvements in plows. He was a merchant as well as a natural mechanic. He was at one time in partnership with Wood and Towsley in the plow business; and, for a time, they worked together in the same shop. He came to Aurora about 1810, from western Oneida County, and was a very intelligent man; had a large family, many of whom became distinguished as jurists and in other positions. He died at Aurora and was buried in the Friends' Cemetery in the Quaker settlement.

Jedidiah Morgan, who with J. B. Harris, October 11, 1814, obtained a patent on a plow, was an enterprising farmer who settled at an early day a short distance south of Aurora, where he resided some time, but in later years, in Aurora, where he died in 1826. He was an energetic man, an influential politician of the Clintonian school, and a Senator at the time of his death. With no remarkable mechanical talents, he furnished the pecuniary means for Harris, who was a blacksmith by trade, not the most skillful of his calling, but a most worthy citizen.

R. Towsley, and Jonathan Swan, jointly obtained a patent

on a plow, which from its title apparently settles the question and decides the character of their preceding inventions. The records describe this last patent as a "Bull Plow." This kind of plow was well known, and the only one in general use prior to the introduction of the cast iron plow. The mould-board was shaped from wood, and the edge and point or share, was of wrought iron faced with steel, and the mould-board had thin strips of iron fastened to it to protect it from too rapid wear. (See Fig. 28.)

#### THE JETHRO WOOD CAST IRON PLOW.

To Jethro Wood, a resident of Cayuga County, the country is indebted for the "Cast Iron Plow," in general use at the present day. The inventor was born at White Creek, Washington County, N. Y., March 16, 1774, and died in the town of Ledyard, Cayuga County, N. Y., Sept. 18, 1834, in the sixty-first year of his age. He married at the age of nineteen, and seven years afterwards, in 1800, he moved with his little family to Scipio. His family occupied a log house, two and one-half miles south-east of what is known as Poplar Ridge, until he could erect a log house and open a clearing on land located three-fourths of a mile west of Poplar Ridge which was given him by his father. When the house was ready he moved his family into it. In this they lived for years until his farm was cleared, when a frame house was erected on the same ground and continued to be occupied until his decease. The house is yet standing, and is owned and occupied by Wm. R. Hazard.

Mr. Wood's mechanical and inventive talent manifested itself at an early age. It is said when only five years old he commenced his experiments. He melted his mother's pewter spoons to cast a mould-board for a little plow, and cut the small buckles from his father's harness to complete one for the cat to draw the plow with. These early attempts were

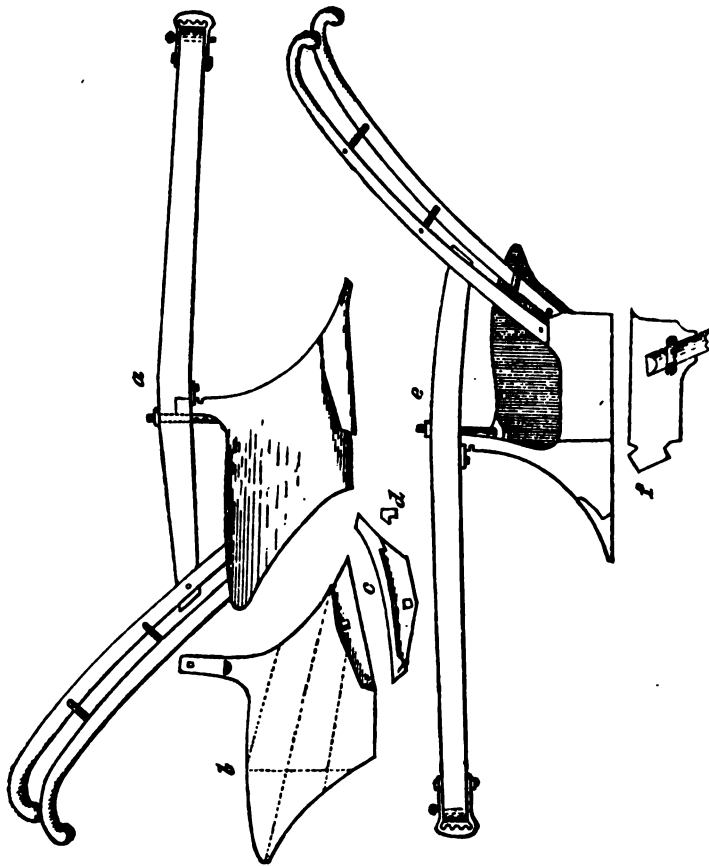


FIG. 39.—Jethro Wood's Cast Iron Plow: From copy of original from Vol. IV. of Restored Patents, now in possession of the Cayuga County Historical Society. *a*, Elevation of Mould-board side of Plow. *b*, Mould board; *c*, Reverse side of Share; *d*, Side view of Knob; *e*, Land-side Elevation of Plow; *f*, Inside view of Land-side.

suppressed, for a while at least, by the old fashioned whipping that followed, and no active efforts were made in that direction again until after marriage. At the time of his first settlement in this County, the condition of the country was such that plows were not a necessity under the then system of cultivation. Mr. Wood, long before the country was really in condition for the plow, began his experiments, and turnips and potatoes were shaped by his knife and hands into miniature plows, as models of form. He commenced active experiments in Scipio as early as 1812, and his first patent was obtained July 1, 1814, and his patent for the plow in its perfected form, September 1, 1819.

When or where his first plow was cast, is uncertain, as several localities claim the credit. One of Wood's plows, and it is believed by many to be the first, was cast under a tree standing at the time on the ground now occupied by the residence of David Raymond, at Poplar Ridge. The iron was melted in a broken potash kettle lined with clay. Charcoal was used for fuel, and an ordinary blacksmith's bellows furnished the blast. Mr. Wood and Mr. Asa Shourds, furnished the power. The patterns were made of wood by a carpenter and joiner residing in the vicinity, with the aid of Mr. Wood, who furnished a model made from a potato for the occasion. Afterwards he employed Joseph Ridgeway, a carpenter and builder who had failed in the business in New York, to aid him, and together they spent some six or eight months in experiments with the plow for the purpose of perfecting it. Mr. Ridgeway, subsequently engaged in the manufacture of the Wood plow at Columbus, Ohio, accumulated a fortune, returned to New York and paid his old creditors in full.

Mr. Wood found great difficulty at first in obtaining the proper kind, quality and mixture of iron, which was only determined by careful experiment. Mr. Wood also met

with great difficulty in introducing his plows among the farmers, and was often obliged to give plows away to introduce them. The prejudice against what was termed "Pot Metal Mould-boards" was universal. He traveled extensively himself, and sent agents to all parts of the country to bring the plow into use. In his early efforts, want of skill in the foundrymen often compelled him to mould his castings himself, as well as always furnish the patterns at his own cost, the foundrymen having no confidence in his success. Furnaces were few and small in those days. In his perfected plow, the mould-board was constructed and shaped on scientific principles, every inch of the surface being made to bear an equal pressure so as to wear alike, and in 1819, his perfected plow possessed all the important elements of the plow in use at the present day. That patent was extended by act of Congress in 1832, the only way that an extension could be obtained beyond the original term, which was fourteen years. Prior to the extension, defects in the patent laws prevented his enforcing his just claims against manufacturers who refused to pay. Then followed amendments to the patent laws, and expensive suits and trials for his children which consumed the extended term. Since this important and valuable invention has become without restriction open to the public, manufacturers and farmers not only appreciate, but acknowledge its value, which fairly estimated in dollars would reach the millions.

"Although previous attempts had been made to construct cast plows, Wood's was the first that proved entirely successful, and through the excellence of his invention and unwearyed labors to perfect its manufacture and introduce it among the farmers, in connection with its cheapness and efficiency, he is justly regarded as the original inventor and successful introducer of the plow as now used by the farmers of the whole country; in the same way that to Fulton,

the inventor of the present form of the steam-boat, is due the credit of placing it successfully in use."

This is an imperfect history of an invention with which the name of Jethro Wood, of Cayuga County, N. Y., will for all time be inseparably connected. A man of whom our distinguished fellow citizen, the late Secretary Seward, has so justly said: "No person has benefitted his country pecuniarily more, and no man has been as inadequately rewarded."

I am enabled to present, through the courtesy of an unknown source, a few extracts from a little volume written by Mr. Frank Gilbert, entitled "Jethro Wood, Inventor of the Modern Plow." What I have already written concerning the early conception of a castiron plow by Mr. Wood, is confirmed by the work acknowledged, in which is also told the following curious episode, which the author thinks strikingly illustrative of the perversities of fortune to Mr. Wood, in the gloomy days when he was laboring to win appreciation for his valuable invention.

The author says: "It is a story of a Czar and a Citizen," and continues:

"All uncertainty as to the feasibility of the new plow having been removed, and actuated by that broad philanthropy which was one of the peculiar charms in the character of Mr. Wood, he desired to extend as widely as possible the area of his usefulness, and concluded to make the Czar of Russia, so long the chief grain exporting country of the world, the present of one of his plows. During the Revolutionary war, then fresh in the American mind, that great sovereign, Catherine of Russia, had been the staunch friend of this country, and that, too, without being impelled by jealousy of Great Britain. It seems to be a peculiar trait in the Romanoff family to admire liberty in the abstract, however absolute in practice. Sharing the prevailing good will toward Russia,



**JETHRO WOOD.**

(By the courtesy of Messrs. Rhodes & McClure, Chicago, publishers of  
"Jethro Wood, Inventor of the Modern Plow."  
12 mo., p. 72, Chicago, 1882.)



Mr. Wood conceived this happy thought of making a truly substantial contribution to Cossack civilization, a civilization ever ready, with all its crudeness, to adopt foreign improvements. That gift, in one point of view slight, proved of great benefit to Russian Agriculture. It is impossible to state the extent of actual advantage derived by Russia from that truly imperial gift. It was in effect giving to that country, second only to the United States in area of tillage, in proportion to population, the free use of the perfected plow. In an old copy of the New York *Tribune*, in its palmy days of Horace Greeley and Solon Robinson, the tale of the Plow and the Ring is unfolded. It runs thus :

“‘During the year 1820, Jethro Wood sent one of his plows to Alexander I, Emperor of Russia, and the peculiar circumstances attending the gift and its reception formed a large part of the newspaper gossip of the day. Wood, though a man of cultivation, intellectually as well as agriculturally, was not familiar with French, which was then as now the diplomatic language. So he requested his personal friend, Dr. Samuel Mitchell, President of the New York Society of Natural History and Sciences, to write a letter in French to accompany the gift.’”

“‘The Autocrat of all the Russias received the plow and letter, and sent back a diamond ring—which the newspapers declared to be worth from \$7,000 to \$15,000—in token of his appreciation. By some indirection, the ring was not delivered to the donor of the plow, but to the writer of the letter, and Dr. Mitchell instantly appropriated it to his own use. Wood appealed to the Russian Minister at Washington for redress. The Minister sent to his Emperor and asked to whom the ring belonged, and Alexander replied that it was intended for the inventor of the plow. Armed with this authority, Wood again demanded the ring of Mitchell. But there were no steamships or telegraphs in those days, and

Mitchell declared that in the long interval in which they had been waiting to hear from Russia, he had given it to the cause of the Greeks, who were then rising to throw off the yoke of their Turkish oppressors. A newspaper of that time calls Mitchell's course 'an ingenious mode of quartering on the enemy,' and the inventor's friends seem to have believed that the ring had been sold for his benefit. At all events it never came to light again, and Wood, a peaceful man, a Quaker by profession, did not push the matter further.' "

"Perhaps another and quite as potent a reason why Friend Wood did not follow up this matter was that weightier affairs demanded his immediate and entire attention. One difficulty was overcome only to develop another. No sooner had he silenced the cavils of the farmers and demonstrated the value of his patent, than infringements upon his rights threatened to, and actually did, rob him of the fruits of his invention." \* \* \* \* \*

"Not even the cruel wrongs he sustained at the hands of dishonest infringers could turn the sweetness of his kindly temper. Nature had endowed him richly every way, and no gift had been abused. Physically, his was the highest type of manly beauty. Six feet and two inches in height, perfect in proportion, courtly in manner, his presence was worthy his character."

The subsequent labors of Benjamin Wood, the son of Jethro Wood, who received the invention of his father as a legacy, were full of zeal, energy, trials, disappointments and untiring labor, which finally resulted in an unequivocal decision by the Circuit Court at Albany, after a three days' trial, that the plow then in general use all over the country was unlike any other, and that the improvements which rendered it so effective were due solely to Jethro Wood, and that all manufacturers must pay his heirs for the privilege of making it. Although this triumph was great, the patent

had little more than a year to run, and while Benjamin Wood was exerting his efforts with a fair degree of success, for its extension, he suddenly fell dead, while conversing with one of his friends, of heart disease, and the patent expired without renewal.

On settling the affairs of the estate, it was found that less than five hundred and fifty dollars had ever been received from this important invention.

Subsequent efforts by the remaining heirs, consisting of four daughters, to obtain provision and protection, in whose interests the exclusive right of making and vending the improvements of the plow should rest for seven years, were made, and a bill providing that twenty-five cents on each plow made might be exacted, passed the Senate unanimously. In the House, the bill was killed by the money of the plow manufacturers, who then swarmed in Washington, and the two younger of the Quaker sisters who had been most active in the matter retired defeated, and we may add defrauded. The very documents which had been used in their suit and which some friendly (?) members of Congress advised them to deposit in Washington, mysteriously disappeared; nor from that time to this have they been seen or heard of; and thus has perished the last vestige of proof of their father's inventive and incomparably beneficial genius.

Avery Babbitt, another inventor of Cayuga County, was born in Bennington, Vermont, September 1, 1806. Died at Slaterville, in Tompkins County, September 12, 1872. He learned the carpenter and joiner trade, and followed the business until 1843. For some time prior to his removal to Auburn, which was in 1838, he resided in Locke, in this County.

In 1847, Mr. Babbitt superintended the construction of the first carpet looms for use in Barber's Carpet Factory. He obtained his first patent on looms, October 8, 1850, and

subsequently other patents were granted him for improvements on bolt-cutters, prismatic lathes, loop machines, etc. Looms were manufactured by himself, and under the firm name of Babbitt & Hickey, quite extensively, and are now in use not only in Auburn, but in Philadelphia and other places. He was original in his conceptions and undertakings, one of the best mechanics in the County, fixed in purpose, energetic and persistent in whatever he undertook, and he filled with great credit, if not with profit to himself, an important place in the mechanical and industrial progress of this County.

The name of Calvin Young, another inventor of Cayuga County, appears on the records of the patent office. He was born in Auburn, June 31, 1830. A natural mechanic, his tastes in that direction were manifested at an early age. When but fourteen years of age, he constructed a fire engine which did excellent service in extinguishing a fire which occurred in Court Street, before the somewhat tardy "City Firemen" of that day, reached the ground with their apparatus.

In early life, through the kindness of the late Cyrus C. Dennis, he was afforded opportunities in the machine shops carried on in the prison under the superintendence of Wm. H. Hudson, one of the best mechanics of that day, from whose instructions he derived great benefit in after life. These opportunities were further improved upon under Mr. Avery Babbitt when constructing the first carpet looms for Barber's Carpet Factory. Subsequently, he was employed in Brooklyn and Buffalo, in building tools and machinery for manufacturing saddlery and harness hardware. He was also employed for a time, in the Auburn and Syracuse Rail Road shops. In 1850, he entered into partnership with O. H. Burdick, in building straw cutters, and subsequently engaged with Beardsley, Keeler and Curtis, as assistant fore-

man, and continued in that position until the expiration of their prison contract, about three years, when John Curtis obtained the contract and was succeeded by Sheldon & Co., Mr. Young continuing as foreman through all the changes. As foreman for Sheldon & Co., in 1858, he superintended the construction of the first Wheeler machines manufactured in the prison, and from that time to the present has been intimately connected with their manufacture.

His first patented invention was a bullet machine, the main features of which were appropriated by others, and from which, by reason of a defect in his patent, he received no remuneration. He also obtained two patents on machines for upsetting and forming the collars on carriage axles. From these he derived pecuniary advantage. A patent was also obtained on self-rake improvements.

A firm unwavering friend and estimable citizen, with opinions of his own, which once deliberately formed are not easily changed, he does not hesitate to express in plain words and at times with much force, his convictions. His life has been a successful one, due wholly to his own efforts and industry.

Charles W. Miles, another Cayuga County inventor, made improvements in carpet looms for which he received a patent. The improvement related to the shuttle-box and the shading of the figures in carpets. The improvement is in use in this city, Philadelphia and other places. He also learned his trade with Avery Babbitt, in this city. He was born in Sennett, Cayuga County, October 18, 1826. For eleven years he was engaged in the construction of carpet looms. From 1864 to 1867 he was engaged with Avery Babbitt in the manufacture of piano stools, since which time he has been employed as foreman in the Cayuga Chief, and D. M. Osborne & Co.'s Reaper Factory. Mr. Miles is another self-made man, a good mechanic, and an estimable citizen.

Frederick Van Patten, another inventor of Cayuga County, was born in the town of Victory, September 22, 1836. At the age of sixteen he became an apprentice to the machinist's trade, and at the end of three years found employment in Colt's Armory, at Hartford, Conn. Here he remained until 1861, when he accepted a position in the Fire Arms Manufactory of the Remingtons, at Ilion, N. Y. In 1864, he came to Auburn, and engaged in the mechanical supervision of the manufacture of the E. D. Clapp patent thill coupling, which was manufactured in a small way in a part of the City Mills on Mechanic Street. To thill couplings, fifth wheels were not long after added. More room was required as the business increased, and in 1869 a large building was erected on Water Street for the purpose. The line of goods manufactured, increased, and in 1874 a large factory was erected on Genesee Street, corner of Division. A stock company was formed in 1876, and the business has increased from year to year, and to-day this company furnish complete sets of forged irons for carriages, which, for top-buggies, requires over one hundred pieces of hardware.

Numerous patents have from time to time been granted to Mr. Van Patten for improvements in the dies used in the drop presses of the establishment for shaping with exactness and facility the many different pieces embraced in carriages as constructed at the present time. He has also, more recently, been granted a patent in conjunction with E. D. Clapp, on a machine for rolling the iron for making carriage clips.

E. D. Clapp, Esq., a natural mechanic and practical carriage maker as well as a practical business man, whose name is inseparably connected with the foregoing enterprise, and to whom in a great measure the magnitude and success of the business is due, is also an inventor; and to his first invention, an improved thill coupling, is due the first establish-

ment of this business; a business which has grown to such astonishing magnitude in so brief a space of time, and which to-day is furnishing to carriage makers throughout the country a superior class of carriage hardware, and to three hundred of the citizens of Auburn constant employment.

Mr. Clapp was born in the town of Ira, Cayuga County, N. Y., November 13, 1828. For the last twenty-five years he has been a resident of the city of Auburn. He learned the carriage maker's trade in Ira, and carried it on successfully there, for a time, before moving to Auburn, and he is now preparing, in connection with others, to renew the business on a more extensive scale than was ever dreamed of in the earlier days of carriage making.

W. W. Crane, a Cayuga County inventor, though born in London, England, October 27, 1820, and learning the machinist's trade there, has resided here for nearly thirty years. He first came to this country in 1848; remained but a short time and returned to England, and again, in 1851, returned to this country where he has since resided. He has obtained nine patents, one of which was for an invention of Mrs. Crane and himself which was taken out by them jointly, it being for a "Self-lubricating Box for Car Axles."

His first patent was granted in 1857, on a machine for polishing morocco leather. His subsequent patents were for steam boilers and steam engines, couplings, hangers and self-lubricating boxes for shafts, and self-lubricating pulleys. Some of these improvements are in extensive use. The self-lubricating box and hanger are manufactured in New York City, and at Woonsocket Falls, R. I., by different parties, to the extent of \$10,000 monthly. For six years past Mr. Crane has carried on a foundry and machine shop on Water Street, Auburn, employing at the present time, twenty-eight men on general job work and repairs. Mr. Crane is a good mechanic and a worthy citizen.

Isaac Stark and Lyman Perrigo are inventors of valuable improvements in spoke machines. Their patent was obtained June 13, 1854, and from that time to the present, machines have been made by Perrigo & Co., of Groton, Tompkins County, N. Y., and the machines are now in use in fifteen different states of the Union. Lyman Perrigo was born in the town of Venice, Cayuga County, November 14, 1821, and died in Groton, Tompkins Co., October 15, 1870. He was a machinist by trade, a good mechanic, and aimed to excel in his chosen field, and every machine and implement that passed through his hands bore the impress of his mechanical skill and inventive talent.

Isaac Stark, the co-inventor with Perrigo, died in Genoa, Cayuga County, where he resided for a long time previous. He was a carpenter by trade, and at one time carried on the manufacture of grain cradles and hand hay rakes at that place quite extensively. He was a superior mechanic. The beauty and finish of his handiwork, was proverbial. In the days of harvesting by hand, the man who was able to obtain a Stark cradle felt that he had the best implement of the kind in existence, and with a good binder behind him with a Stark rake, it was expected that a little more work would be accomplished than could be done by any other combination of hand tools then in existence.

Elliott G. Storke, in 1867, established the manufacture of iron bench and block planes, which he conducted up to his decease. He, as an inventor, has been granted several patents for improvements in that class of tools. He was born in Aurelius, in this County, June 18, 1811, and died in Auburn, Sept. 11, 1879.

Mr. Storke received a limited common school, and partial academic education, which was further improved upon by a careful study of books without the aid of teachers. At the age of sixteen he engaged in teaching school. In 1842 he



was appointed County Superintendent of the public schools of this County. He next engaged in book publishing. Financial embarrassment in 1856, followed by the panic of 1857, forced the firm with which he was connected, into liquidation. During the Rebellion, he accumulated material for its history, which he published. In 1866, with others, he was engaged in organizing the Merchants' Union Express Company.

Mr. Storke was an enterprising man, who, through a long and active business life retained the esteem of his fellow citizens.

C. B. Hutchinson, a successful inventor of Cayuga County, resided in Auburn, corner of Grover and South Streets, at the time of his death, which took place September 12, 1869.

Mr. Hutchinson was born in Marion, Wayne County, N. Y., September 17, 1818. He learned the machinist's trade, and came to Auburn in 1854. Was a natural mechanic and inventor, and his inventions exhibited remarkable skill and adaptation of means to ends. His inventions mainly pertained to barrel machinery from which he derived considerable advantage, but the public much greater. He also made improvements in cider mills and grape presses, which have been extensively manufactured and used, and continue to be so manufactured and used. He received the sum of \$20,000.00 for the patent on his cider and grape mill and press.

Charles F. Davis, inventor, has been granted a patent on a harvester rake, and also on a grain drill. His improvement on grain drills consists in an application of devices by which the operator can change the drill teeth from single to double rank, or from a straight line to a zig-zag line, and *vice versa*, by a single movement of a lever. This invention is one of much value, and is now in general use, and from it he has derived considerable pecuniary advantage. Mr. Davis

is now a resident of Auburn, and was born in the town of Aurelius, Cayuga Co., August 10, 1845. He farmed it for a number of years in Aurelius, on the farm on which he was born; never learned any mechanical trade, but is a natural mechanic; can handle tools skillfully, and generally makes his own models and experimental machinery; is a very worthy man and a good citizen.

## INVENTORS IN HARVESTING MACHINERY.

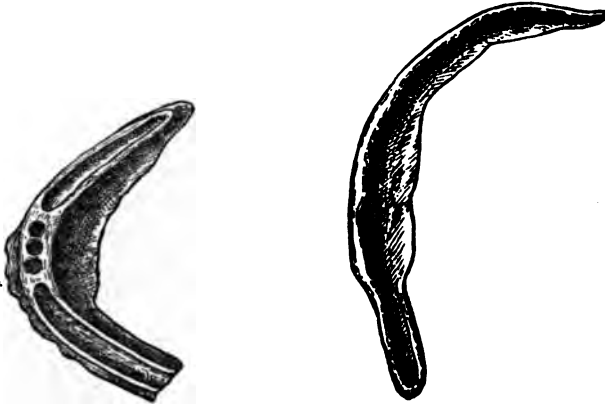


FIG. 31.—Sickle of the Bronze Epoch, found by M. Desor, at Chevroux. (From Figuer's "Primitive Man.")

FIG. 32.—Sickle of the Iron Epoch. (From Figuer's "Primitive Man.")



FIG. 33.—Egyptian Harvesting Scene; Application of the Sickle.

In harvesting grain, the sickle was probably the earliest instrument in use. It is mentioned in Deuteronomy, six-



FIG. 34.—Sickle of the Moderns.



FIG. 35.—"The Reaper," (after Millett.) Application of the Sickle.



FIG. 36.—The "*Ani-ani*," or Reaping Implement of Java. *a*, Hand-piece; *b*, Long Spatula, shaped left-hand piece.

teenth chapter, ninth verse, and again in the twenty-third chapter, twenty-fifth verse. This dates it back for three thousand years.

In Java, an instrument known as the "*Ani-ani*," and costing about three-pence, is used for gathering or reaping

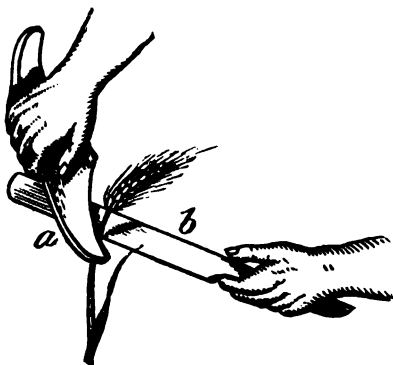


FIG. 37.—Application of the "*Ani-ani*."

grain. This instrument is held by the reaper in a peculiar manner, and with it he crops off each separate ear with a few inches of the straw. This method of reaping has been

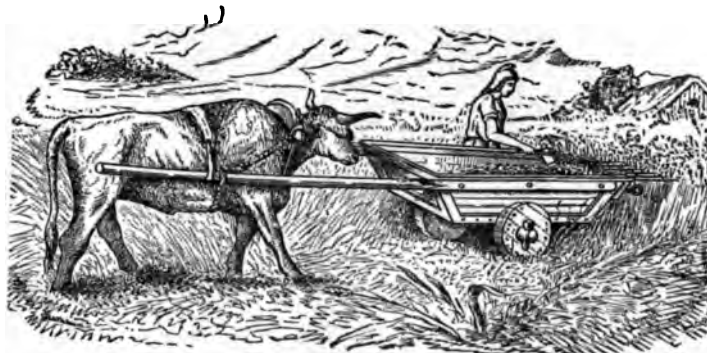


FIG. 38.—Reaping Machine described by Pliny the Elder.

immemorably practiced in that country and is universally followed.

It has been conjectured that the reaper using the "*Ani-ani*" takes one of the two parts of the implement, (*a*), in the right hand, and the other part, (*b*), in the left; and that in

passing them over each other like the blades of shears, the straw between them is cut and together with the head of grain, falls into an apron or basket worn by the reaper.

The first mention of a machine for reaping grain, is given by Pliny the Elder, early in the first century, who describes it as a van or cart of large size, with projecting teeth on the edge, which was driven through the standing corn by an ox yoked in the reverse direction, and used at that time in the extensive fields of the lowlands of Gaul, and which served to gather the crop by stripping off the heads.

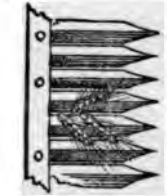


FIG. 39.—Enlarged Section of Stripping Teeth of Harvesting Machine described by Pliny the Elder, First Century.

The use of this machine is believed to have continued through centuries, as Palladius, (an Eastern Prelate and Ecclesiastical writer), early in the fifth century describes the same machine. When it went out of use is unknown.

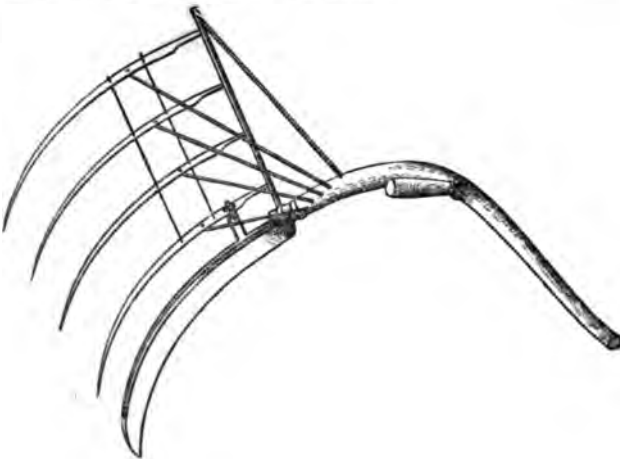


FIG. 40.—Modern Harvesting Cradle Scythe.

The first patent granted for a reaping machine, was in England, July 4th, 1799, to Joseph Boyce. This machine



FIG. 41.—Application of the Harvesting Cradle Scythe.



FIG. 42.—Scythe of the Iron Epoch, from the Lacustrine Settlements of Switzerland, (Figuer's "Primitive Man.")



FIG. 43.—Application of the Scythe ; Laboring Colons, (12th Century,) after a Miniature in a Manuscript of the *Sacré Chapelle*, of the National Library of Paris. Lacroix. "Bibliophile Jacob."

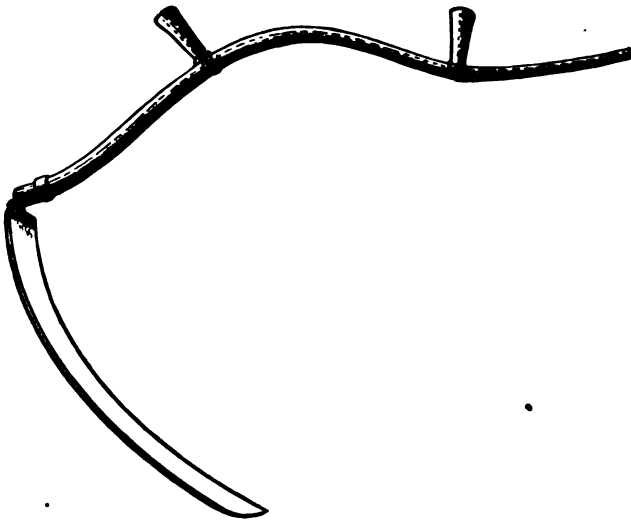


FIG. 44.—Scythe of Modern Times ; Used for Mowing Grass.



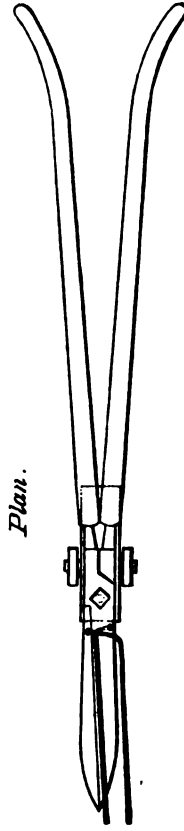
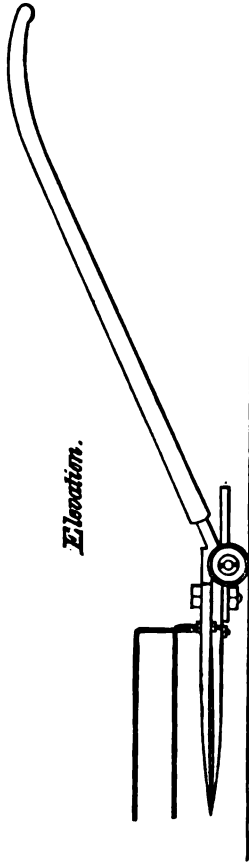


FIG. 45.—Drawing as Suggested from the Description in Meare's Specification.



had a series of knives or cutters affixed to the lower end of a vertical spindle, which was arranged on wheels, and caused to revolve against the grain by being pushed forward from behind. In the following year, Letters Patent were granted for a mechanical reaper to Robert Meares, of Frome, Somersetshire, on the twentieth of May.

Various attempts were made and patents granted in England prior to the holding of the World's Fair in 1851, none of which had come into use, and all of which had evidently been forgotten. The exhibition of McCormick's and Hussey's reapers at that time, awakened a fresh interest in John Bull on the subject, and a trial in the field convinced him that Brother Jonathan was fully a match for him in peace as well as war.

The earliest patent granted in the United States on Harvesting Machines, was to Richard French and John T. Hawkins, of New Jersey, May 17, 1803, for a machine to cut grain. Seventeen patents were granted prior to that of Obed Hussey, December 31, 1833, which was the first really practical reaping machine, and contained many of the elements of the machines in use at the present day.

Cyrus H. McCormick's patent was of subsequent date, his first being granted June 21, 1834.

Harvesting machines and Harvesting machinery, have long been constructed in this country. Thomas Hussey, brother of Obed Hussey, of Baltimore, the inventor of the Hussey Reaping machine, commenced its manufacture in Auburn about 1840. They were first constructed in the old oil mill which occupied a portion of the ground on which the works of D. M. Osborne & Co. now stand, and the machine, in an improved form, is now manufactured by L. W. Quick on Mechanic Street. Although Mr. Thomas Hussey was long connected with the manufacture, I cannot learn that he obtained patents for any of his improvements. Mr. Obed Hussey was one of

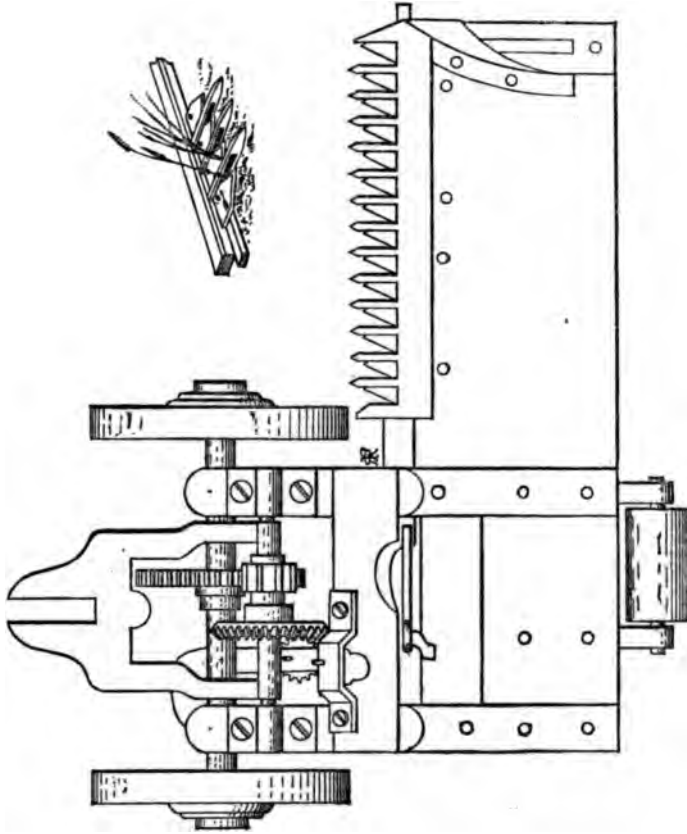


FIG. 46.—Plan View, and Section of Finger Bar of Husey Machine.

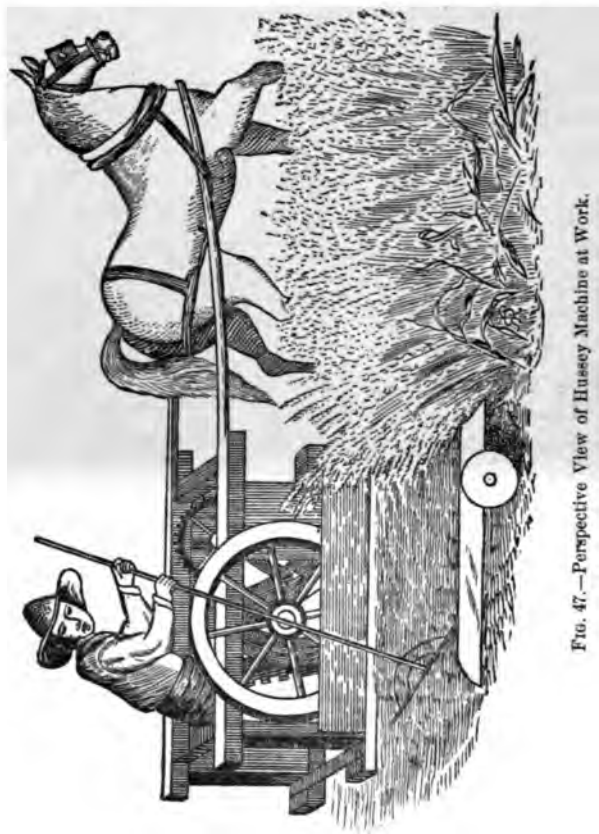


FIG. 47.—Perspective View of Hussey Machine at Work.

the earliest inventors of reaping machines, and to him the credit is due of devising a cutting apparatus and improving the same, that has stood the test of time, and remains substantially that in general use at the present day, to wit: The reciprocating escaloped cutter and the open slotted guard finger.

Among the earliest grants of patents for harvesting machines, the name of Wm. A. Kirby appears. Though some of his earlier patents were granted to him while a resident of Buffalo in this state, he may well be claimed as a Cayuga County Inventor. Mr. Kirby was born in the township of Scipio, in that part of it now known as the town of Ledyard, September 17, 1817, but is now a resident of the City of Auburn. His early educational advantages were limited and confined to the common school. When but twelve years of age, he drove a team on the tow-path of the canal from Seneca Falls to Albany and back, taking the whole care of the team on the trip. When old enough, he learned the carpenter's trade, and followed that occupation six years. He farmed it ten years, running a threshing machine and clover mill during the fall and winter months of four of those years, making all necessary repairs of the machines himself. In 1852, and during the summer, he removed to Buffalo and entered into the employment of Mr. E. B. Forbush of that place, who in July of that year, had taken out a patent for improvements in a grain and grass harvester. In the construction of the Forbush machine, Mr. Kirby afforded valuable aid.

Mr. Kirby constructed one of those machines for exhibition at the State Fair, which was held at Utica that year, commencing the work the fourth day of August and completing it the fourth day of September, ready for shipment to Utica, where it was exhibited at the fair of that season as already mentioned.

The Forbush machines were manufactured in Buffalo by a company of which the Smith Brothers were the principal parties. The company were sued as infringers of the Ketchum patents by the owners thereof, and were forced to discontinue the manufacture.

From witnessing the operation of the Forbush in the field, and with the view of remedying its defects and at the same time avoid the Ketchum patents, Mr. Kirby in 1855, undertook the construction of the Kirby machine which was completed in that year, and he obtained his first patent April 15, 1856, and the second, September 2, of the same year. The first related to the method of connecting the guard fingers to the finger bar, and projecting rivet heads and spaces in connection with the cutters and fingers. The patent of September 2, 1856, contained the important feature of pivoting the main driving and supporting wheel to an arm which was in turn hinged to the frame of the machine concentric to the first gear shaft; which arrangement permitted the wheel to swing on its hinged connection with the gear frame, independent of it and the frame; and the cutting apparatus connected therewith to rise and fall independent of the up and down motions of the road wheel. A seat for the driver was pivoted to the frame of the machine and fulcrumed on the axle and its arm, so that the weight of the driver was added to the wheel to give it sufficient adhesion to the ground to drive the cutters, and at the same time relieve the cutting apparatus and frame from undue pressure on the ground, when used in mowing; by this arrangement of the wheel and frame, the cutting apparatus could be set at different heights from the ground for reaping grain.

To an understanding of this arrangement, and its distinctive difference from the Forbush machine, it may be stated that in the Forbush machine, the main driving and road wheel was rigidly connected to the frame of the machine so

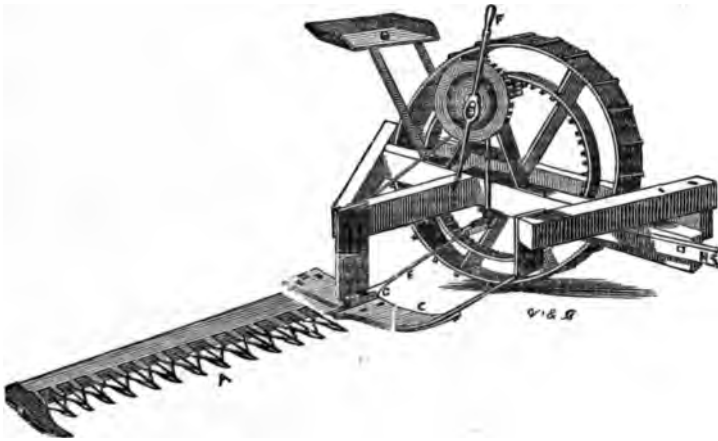


FIG. 48.—Forbush Machine as a Mower.

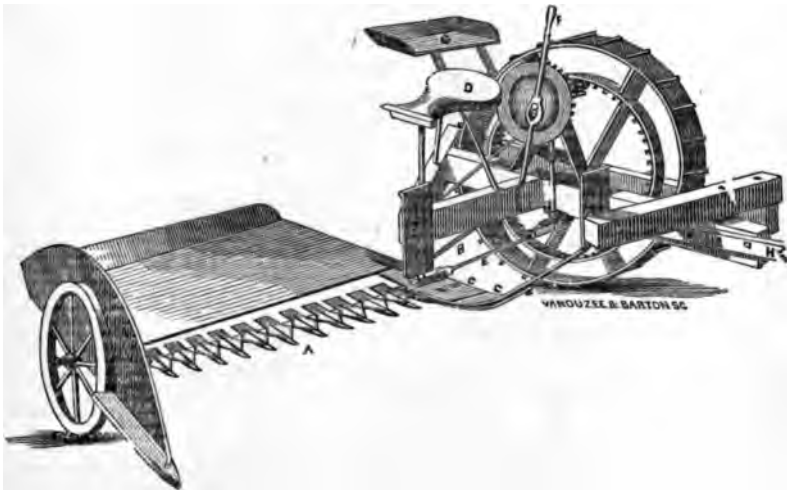


FIG. 49.—Forbush Machine as a Reaper.

that the frame work and cutting apparatus partook of the up and down movements of the wheel when passing over the ground; the cutter apparatus at its inner end or point of connection with the frame, being influenced by the vertical movements of the main wheel, which by the arrangement of the Kirby devices was avoided.

The Forbush was constructed with bracket connections between the frame work and finger bar, by which means, the cutting apparatus could be set at varying heights for converting it into a reaper. In this respect, the Forbush was an improvement on the Ketchum machine, which could only be converted into a reaper, by an enlargement of the main wheel by bolting lugs or segment rims to its periphery, which admitted only of a limited adjustment in the height of the cutting apparatus.

The controlling feature in the Ketchum machine, was an *unobstructed space* between the driving wheel and the finger bar and its supports. In this respect the Forbush and the Ketchum machines were alike; but in the Kirby, the finger bar was extended at its inner end, close to the main wheel, thus closing substantially the open space between the wheel and cutting apparatus; the independent up and down movement of the wheel permitting the cutting apparatus to follow the ground in mowing.

Mr. Kirby has from time to time made improvements in his machine which was, with the Ketchum and Forbush types, denominated "one-wheeled machines." He has also made improvements in two-wheeled machines and revolving reel rakes, for all of which he has obtained patents, numbering in all, on harvesters, seventeen, besides several others for improvements in other departments of which it is not necessary to more particularly speak.

The manufacture of the Kirby machine was commenced in Buffalo, N. Y., by the Buffalo Agricultural Works, Mr.

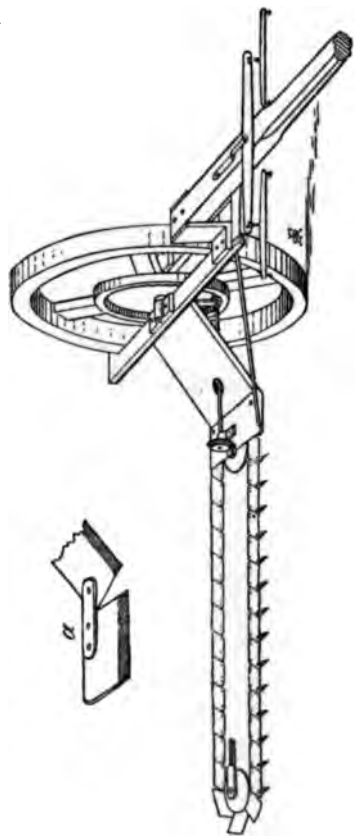


FIG. 50.—Perspective View of the Ketchum Machine. a, Section of Cutter Knives.



D. M. Osborne, being one of the company. In 1858, two hundred of these machines were manufactured in Auburn, by Mr. O. H. Burdick, for Osborne & Holbrook, the firm



FIG. 51.—Early Kirby Machine.

consisting of D. M. Osborne and O. I. Holbrook. In 1859 the firm of D. M. Osborne & Co. was formed for the manufacture of these machines in Auburn. D. M. Osborne, Cyrus C. Dennis and Charles P. Wood composed the firm. Mr. Wood retired in 1862, and Mr. Dennis died in 1866. After the death of Mr. Dennis, Mr. John H. Osborne and Mr. O. H. Burdick became partners. These machines continued to



FIG. 52.—Later Kirby Machine.

be manufactured extensively by the firm up to 1875, when the Cayuga Chief Manufacturing Company became consolidated with the Co., and organized under the manufacturing laws of the state as a stock company under the name and style of D. M. Osborne & Co.

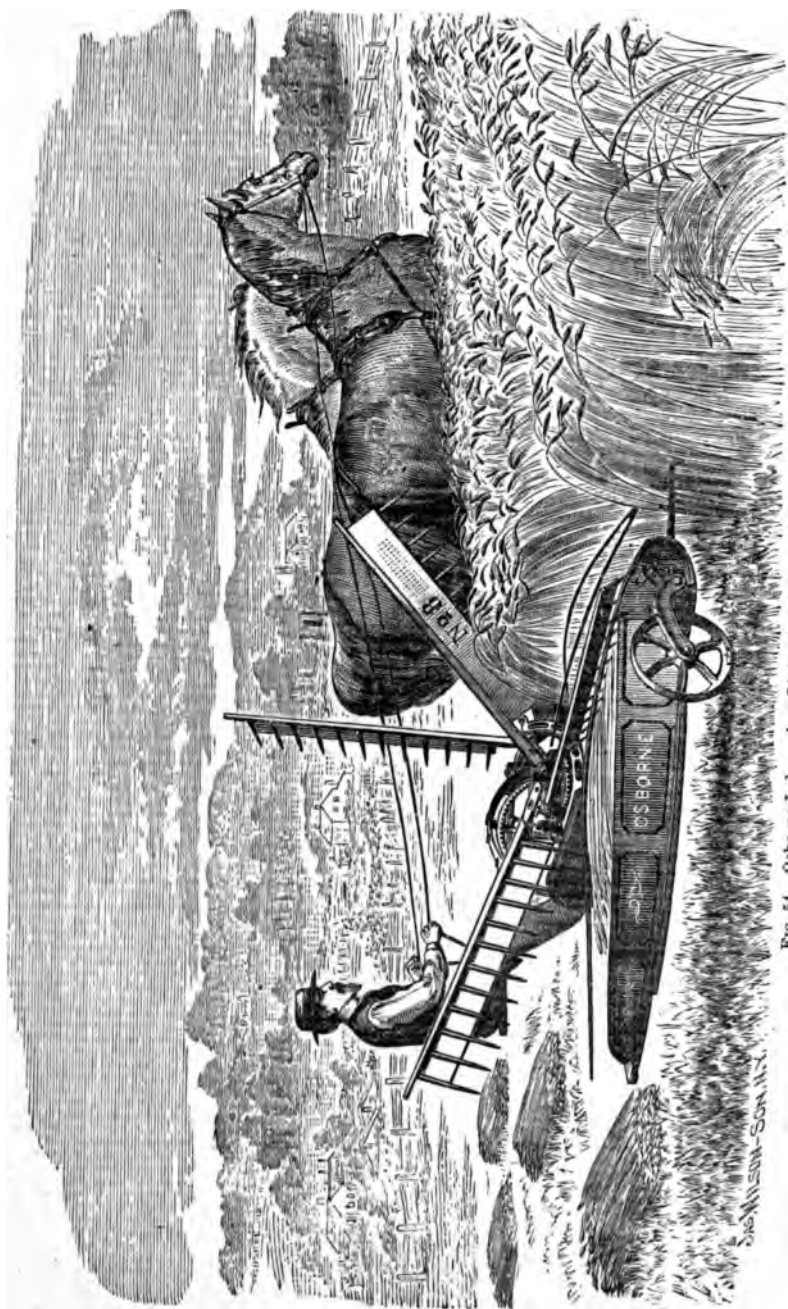


FIG. 54.—Osborne Independent Light Reaper. Kirby Machine of 1888.

In 1880, the number of machines manufactured by this company reached 16,000, and the company furnished employment for one thousand of the citizens of Auburn.

The Kirby machine continued to be manufactured at Buffalo and at Cambridge City, Indiana; and in limited numbers for a short time at other points. The whole number of machines of the Kirby type manufactured up to the present time will not fall short of 120,000.

It is believed that six years is about the average life time of machines in use, and that they average a yearly use of about eighteen days, or one hundred and eight days use in the life of the machine. A saving of \$12.00 per day over the performance of the same work by hand, is, without doubt made, or \$1,296.00 for each machine, or \$155,552.00 is saved to the farming public and the country over hard manual labor, by the use of the Kirby machine alone. The magnitude of these figures is surprising, but they fall far short of the saving made by the later combined harvester and binder constructed by D. M. Osborne & Co. at the present time, which has the capacity to cut and deliver in bundles, twenty acres of grain daily, a saving of nearly double that made by the ordinary harvester.

Machines manufactured at Auburn by D. M. Osborne & Co., now find a market in nearly all of the grass and grain growing portions of the habitable globe; and they are in use as aids in gathering the harvests of the world every month in the year. To-day, though mid-winter here, the click of Auburn manufactured machines is heard by our antipodes in far off Australia and South America as they sweep down and gather into bundles the ripened grain of those countries.

Mr. Kirby removed his family to Auburn in 1863, though he for several years previous had spent the most of his time in this city. Mr. Kirby in early life was without pecuniary means, and for years it was an unceasing but uncomplaining

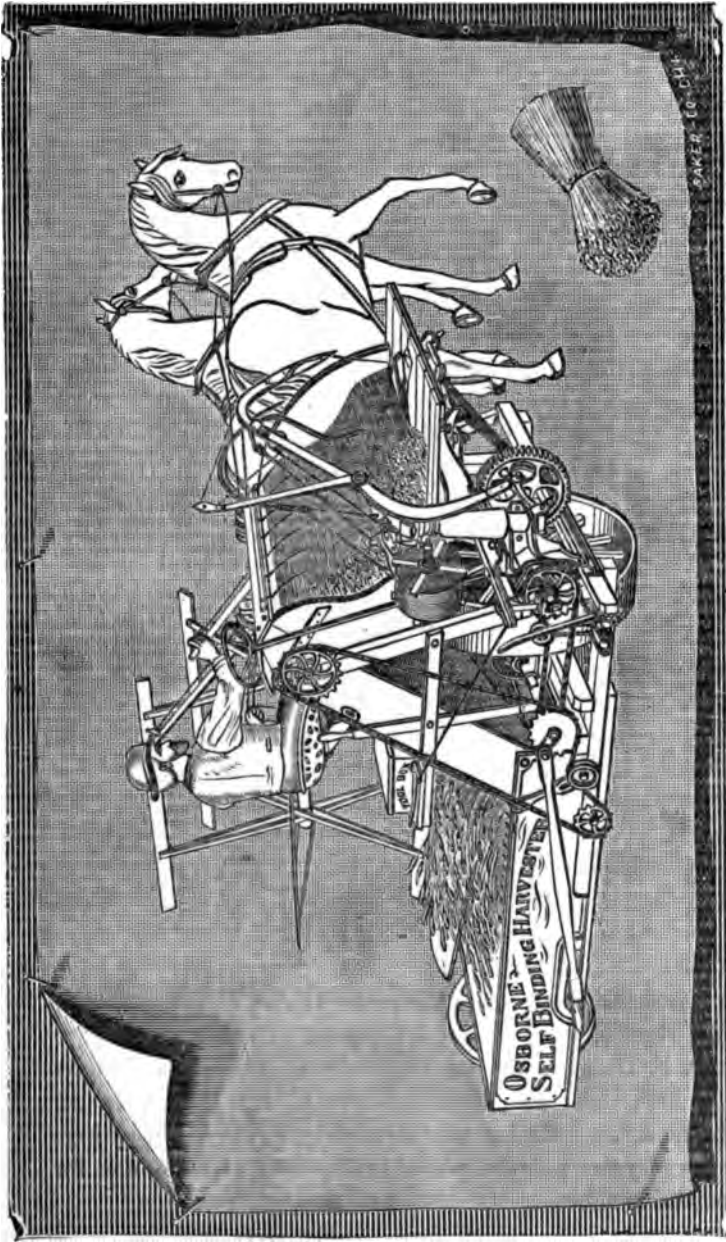


FIG. 53.—The Osborne Self-Binding Harvester.

struggle with poverty. With fixed purpose and a courage that was equal to the occasion, untiring industry marked his efforts, and success was the result.

Mr. O. H. Burdick, another inventor of Cayuga County, has also for a long time been closely connected with the reaping and mowing machine industry of the County. To him has been granted several patents for improvements made by him in harvesting machinery. The first bears date June 7th, 1864, and was for an improvement in self-rakes; a rake that was arranged to sweep in the arc of a circle across a quadrant shaped platform, and had a rising and falling motion so that it could make the return movement without disturbing the accumulating grain on the platform. This rake was operated in conjunction with a reel rotating on a horizontal axis. This was used on machines manufactured by D. M. Osborne & Co. about two years, and was followed by a further improvement by Mr. Burdick, which was a rake of another type, known as the reel rake, and on which he obtained a patent dated February 27, 1866. This latter, was further improved and a patent obtained therefor, December 8, 1868. In this type of rakes, the operation of gathering and bringing the grain to the cutters and laying it on the platform, as well as discharging it therefrom in gavels suitable for binding, is performed by the same organized mechanism, instead of by separate devices, as with the first named rake. It was extensively used on the Kirby machines and on a machine organized expressly for its use and known as the "Burdick Reaper." About 35,000 of these rakes have been made and sold up to the present time.

Mr. Burdick also obtained a patent in conjunction with Mr. O. F. Daggett, for improvements in two-wheeled mowers, which has also been constructed by Messrs. D. M. Osborne & Co. He has also obtained patents for fastenings for foundrymen's flasks, photograph printer's frames, and for a vegetable slicer.



FIG. 55.—The "Burdick Reaper."

Mr. Orrin H. Burdick was born in Brookfield, Madison County, N. Y., November 14, 1814. His parents moved from there to Cortland County, when he was but two years old. His educational advantages were confined to the common school, and for a very limited time only. When eight years old he worked in a machine shop, and from that early age was dependent on his own resources for a livelihood. He mastered the machinist's trade, and in the spring of 1835, when twenty-one years of age, he came to Auburn and found employment in the shop of Burgess and Sprague, which stood at that time on the same ground now occupied by the D. M. Osborne & Co. factory, on Mechanic Street. The firm was engaged in manufacturing saddler's and harness maker's tools. He remained in Auburn until 1841, when he moved to Port Byron, and found employment for two years in the machine shop of E. P. Ross and Jonathan Seymour, on mill and job work; after which, he found employment for three years with David Anthony at Union Springs on similar work.

In 1847, Mr. Burdick returned to Auburn and was employed in constructing machinery and building the first carpet looms for Barber's Carpet Factory, and personally started all of them when completed. Afterwards, he started a shop and manufactured straw cutters for Watrous and Osborne on contract, and subsequently for the firm of Osborne, Barker & Baldwin, until Mr. D. M. Osborne bought out his partners and assumed the manufacture himself, employing Mr. Burdick by the year, Mr. Burdick furnishing tools.

Subsequently, Mr. Burdick purchased a building on Water Street, where he started a shop for general job work and repairs, and in 1857, manufactured on contract for Dean, Mackin and Alden, the Wheeler machines, the first of that type manufactured in Auburn. In the fall of that year, he moved to the corner of Genesee and Mechanic Streets, where he manufactured for Osborne & Holbrook, two hundred

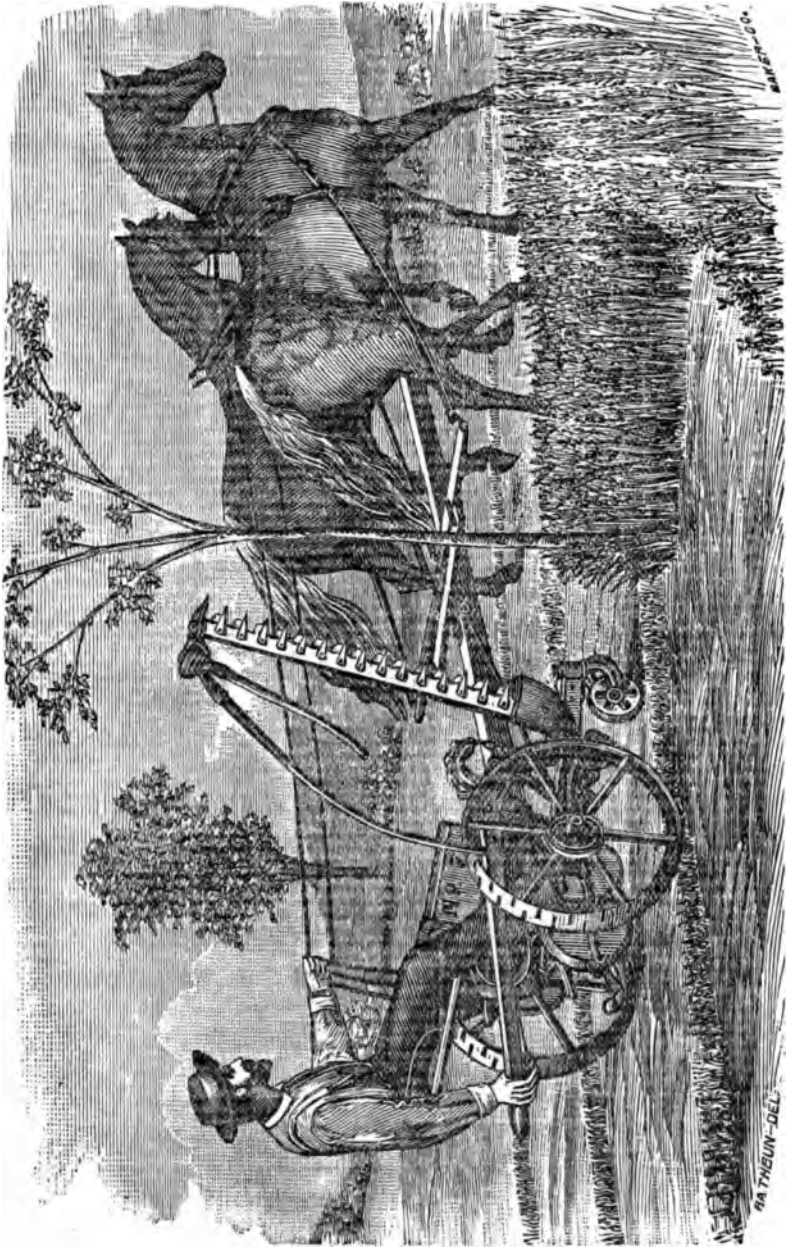


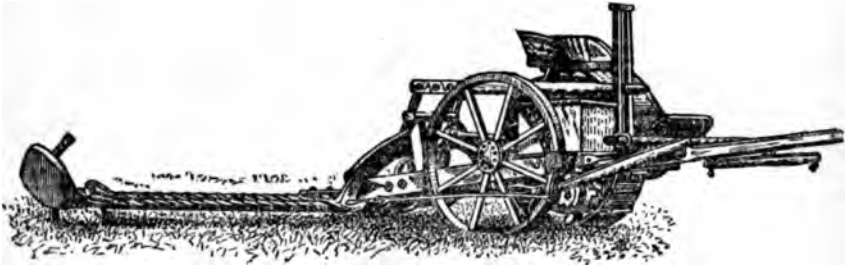
Fig. 56.—Osborne Mower No. 7. Two-Wheeled Mower of the Burdick Type.



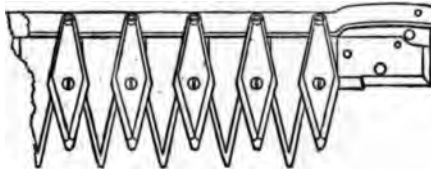
Kirby machines, the first of that type made in this County. From that time to the present date he has been identified with the construction of the machines manufactured by D. M. Osborne & Co., in Auburn. Mr. Burdick is a self-made man, who with few advantages, by perseverance and strict attention to business has achieved success.

In this connection, it is proper to mention another Cayuga County inventor, whose name is inseparably connected with the reaping machine industry of this County. His patented inventions relate to pitman connections for harvesters, and whilst the inventor, the Hon. D. M. Osborne, may not claim that his particular forte is invention, he possesses, it will be admitted, in an eminent degree that business capacity as a manufacturer which goes far towards making inventions a success. He was born in Harrison, Westchester County, N. Y., December 15, 1822. In early days was a clerk in a hardware store in New York City. He came to Auburn in 1848, and engaged in the manufacture of Straw cutters on the corner of Genesee and Mechanic Streets, and subsequently, as I have stated, in the manufacture of the Kirby machine in the same building in which the office of D. M. Osborne & Co. now is, in 1858; which has been enlarged from time to time as the requirements of the constantly increasing business demanded, until it has reached a magnitude that he, at its early inception, could scarcely have anticipated. With the enterprise and business capacity of an Osborne, and the inventive talent of a Kirby and Burdick united, success was assured.

John A. Dodge, another inventor of Cayuga County, was born in Dutchess County, in this State, and became a resident of this County in 1833, with his father, Doctor David L. Dodge, who settled at Union Springs in that year, and for many years was a practicing physician there. When a young man, he clerked it for his brother-in-law, George Mosher,



**FIG. 57.—Early Wheeler Machine. 1854-5.**



**FIG. 58.—Cutting Apparatus of First Wheeler Machine, 1853.**

who kept a store at Poplar Ridge. He afterwards became a Rail Road contractor, and subsequently a coal dealer in this city, and in 1858, became the managing head of the firm of Ross, Dodge and Pomeroy, which firm engaged in the manufacture of small agricultural tools and wheel-barrows in Auburn Prison. They also engaged, (in connection with Sheldon & Co., who had a contract in the prison,) in the manufacture of what was then known as the Wheeler Combined Mower and Reaper. Subsequently they engaged in the manufacture of the Ball machine; Sheldon & Co. taking the Wheeler. After this Mr. Ross and Mr. Pomeroy retired, and the Ball machine was superseded by what was known as the Dodge machine, and an incorporated company, know as the Dodge and Stevenson Manufacturing Co., engaged quite extensively in its manufacture.

On this machine Col. Dodge obtained seven patents individually, and two in connection with others. One with George Perry of this city, and another with Wm. H. Stevenson then residing here. These patents were principally improvements relating to the *reel rake*. and were of considerable importance. The improvements consisted of devices which governed the reeling and raking mechanism; the switch and roller controlling the arms being arranged outside of the pivoted axis of the arms.

The company went into liquidation, and in 1874, Beardsley, Wheeler & Co. purchased, with the patterns and parts of the machine, a shop right under those patents. The other interests in the rake patents were previously sold by the company to a certain firm of Reaper manufacturers for the sum of seventy-five thousand dollars. Col. Dodge is now a resident of New York City and has a broker's office in Wall Street.

In the department of harvesting machinery inventions, the name of Cyrenus Wheeler, Jr., appears. Thirty-nine

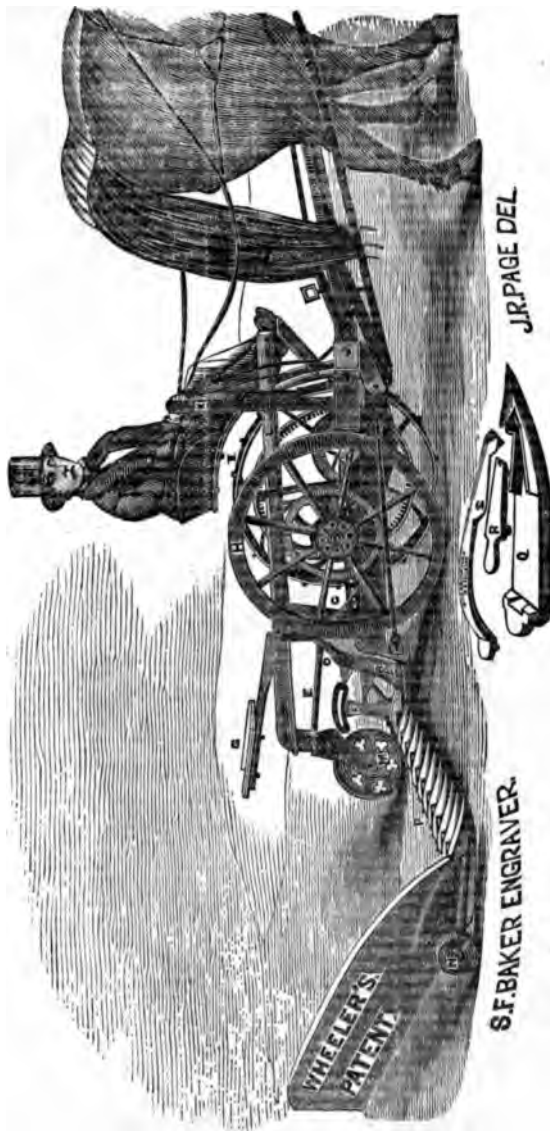
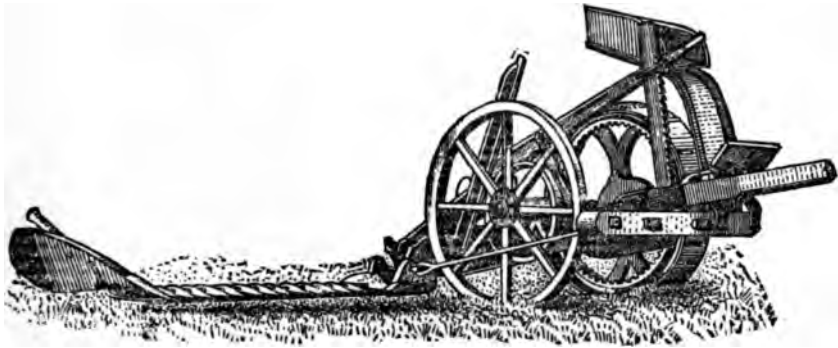


FIG. 59.—Early Wheeler Machine. 1866.

patents were granted to him in that class, and several in other classes to which it is not necessary to refer particularly.

His first patents, and perhaps the most important ones, bear date December 5th, 1854, and February 6th, 1855. Prior to this time, machines had been constructed with rigid finger bars. These improvements consisted in supporting the frame work and gearing of the machine on two wheels, and connecting the finger bar by hinges, and providing levers for lifting and rocking it, so as to elevate or depress the points of the cutters. In 1854, a platform, reel, and raker's seat were added, thus making it a combined machine. In the winter of 1855 a self-rake was applied and used in the harvest of 1856 quite successfully in standing grain. On these improvements patents were obtained, and from that time onward successive patents were obtained for other improvements made, to none of which particular reference need be made, except that of February 9th, 1864, which was for a combination and arrangement of gearing, rendering it more compact and better adapted to the purpose of casing or boxing. The first machine was made at Poplar Ridge, Cayuga County, in a shop carried on by Shourds and Mosher, and the first trial was made one mile south of there on the farm of the inventor. The cutting apparatus used at that time was an arrangement of pivoted shears.—See Fig. 58.

The trial was made in grass soaked by recent rains, and was satisfactory; but the following season's use of the same kind of cutters developed the fact that those cutters were better adapted to wet than dry grass, and the Hussey cutters and fingers were substituted in their place. These machines continued to be manufactured at Poplar Ridge up to 1860, reaching several hundred in number annually, when the establishment was moved to Aurora and continued there up to 1866. After the harvest



**FIG. 60.—Wheeler Machine of 1857.**



**FIG. 61.—Wheeler Machine of 1858-59.**

of that season, it became consolidated as a stock company, with the Burtis and Beardsley, and Barber, Sheldon & Co. firms, who were manufacturers of the same machine at Auburn, under the name and style of the Cayuga Chief Manufacturing Company. This company, in 1875, became consolidated with D. M. Osborne & Co. as a stock company, under the continued name of D. M. Osborne & Co., which firm continues their manufacture at the present time.

In 1857, Orrin H. Burdick manufactured about one hundred of these machines for Dean, Machachin & Aiden. In 1858, Ross, Dodge and Pomeroy, in connection with Sheldon & Co., manufactured the same machines in the prison, and Barber, Sheldon & Co., who succeeded Sheldon & Co. in the prison, continued their manufacture up to 1866.

Several thousands of these machines were manufactured at Alliance, Ohio, and in lesser numbers at other places.

From 1854 up to the present time not less than 85,000 Wheeler machines have been manufactured in this country, and the whole number of two-wheeled hinged finger-bar machines manufactured in this country, up to the present time, will not fall short of 940,000.

The several modifications of machines of the "Wheeler Type," are very distinctly shown by the several and preceding cuts. The earliest, or 1854 machine, was destroyed before any picture of the same was obtained, but Fig. 57 is a fair representation thereof with the exception of the cutting apparatus, which was somewhat different, and is shown clearly in Fig. 58.

Fig. 59 shows the machine as used for mowing in 1856. The same machine was also used for reaping, the platform and reel not being shown in the illustration.

Fig. 60 is a modification of the same machine, as used in 1857; and Fig. 61 shows another modification as the machine was used in the years of 1858 and 1859.

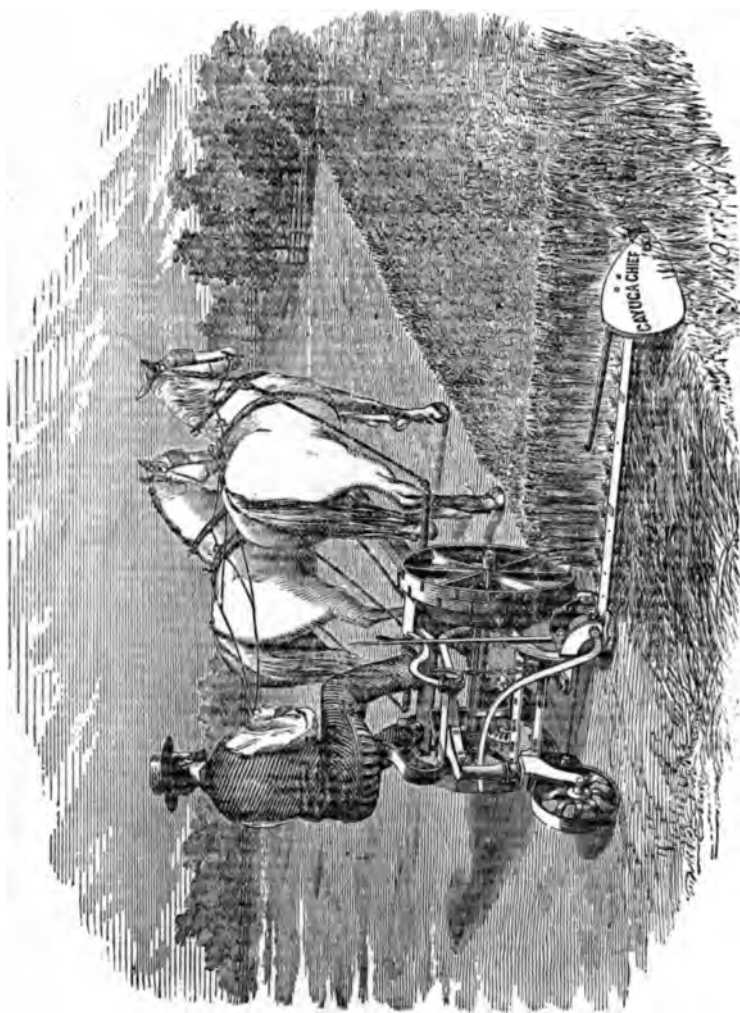


FIG. 68.—“Cayuga Chief” Mower in Operation. Wheeler Machine of 1860.





FIG. 68.—"Cuyuga Chief" Mower with Cutter Bar Folded Up for Road.—Wheeler Machine of 1860.

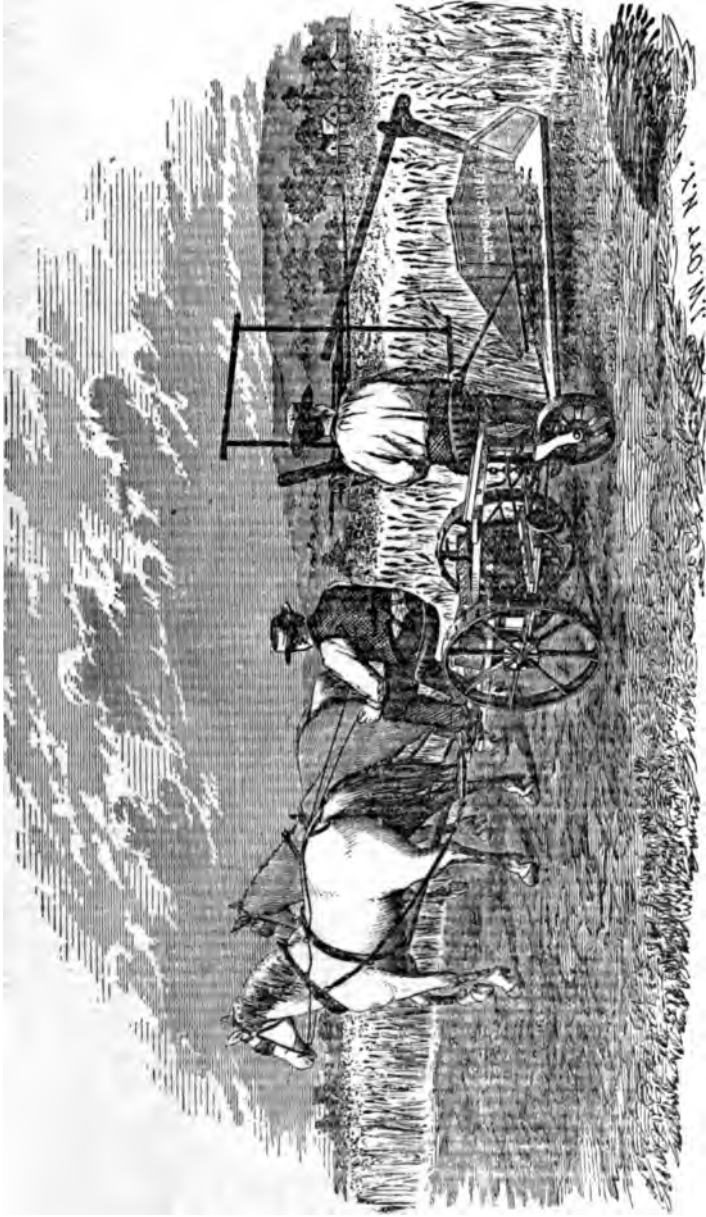


FIG. 64.—“Cayuga Chief” of 1860—as a Reaper.

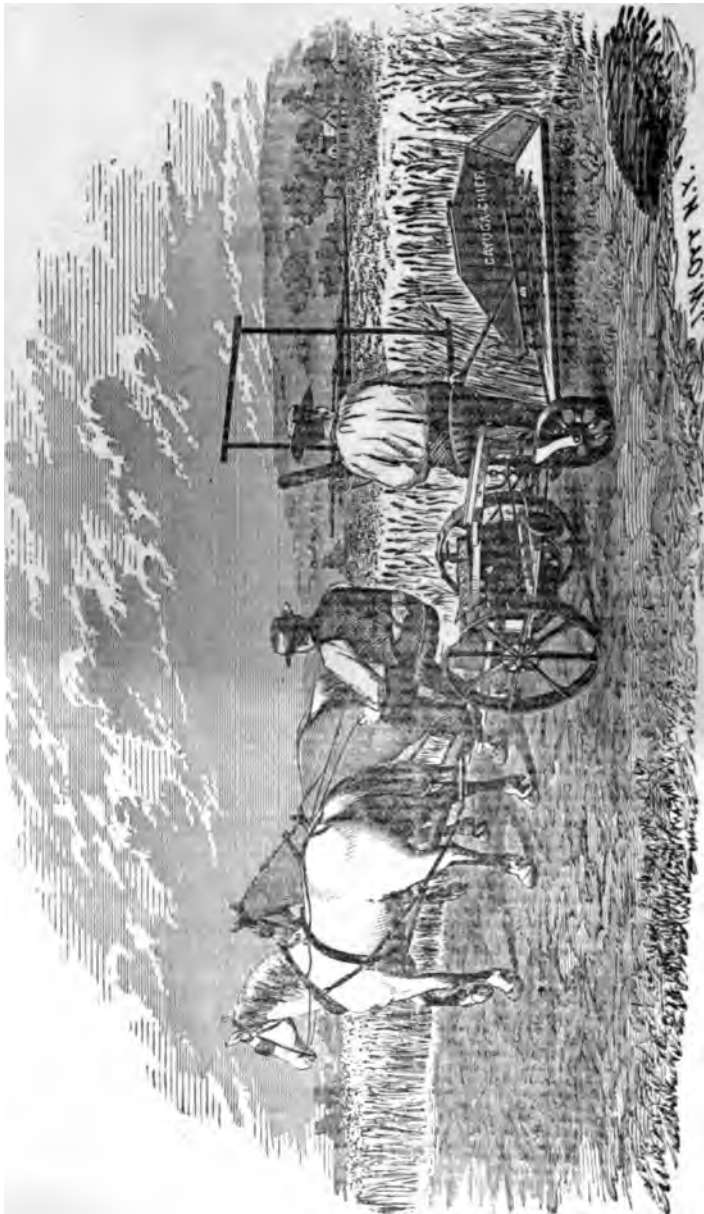


FIG. 65.—"Cayuga Chief" of 1851—as a Reaper, having Overhanging Reel.

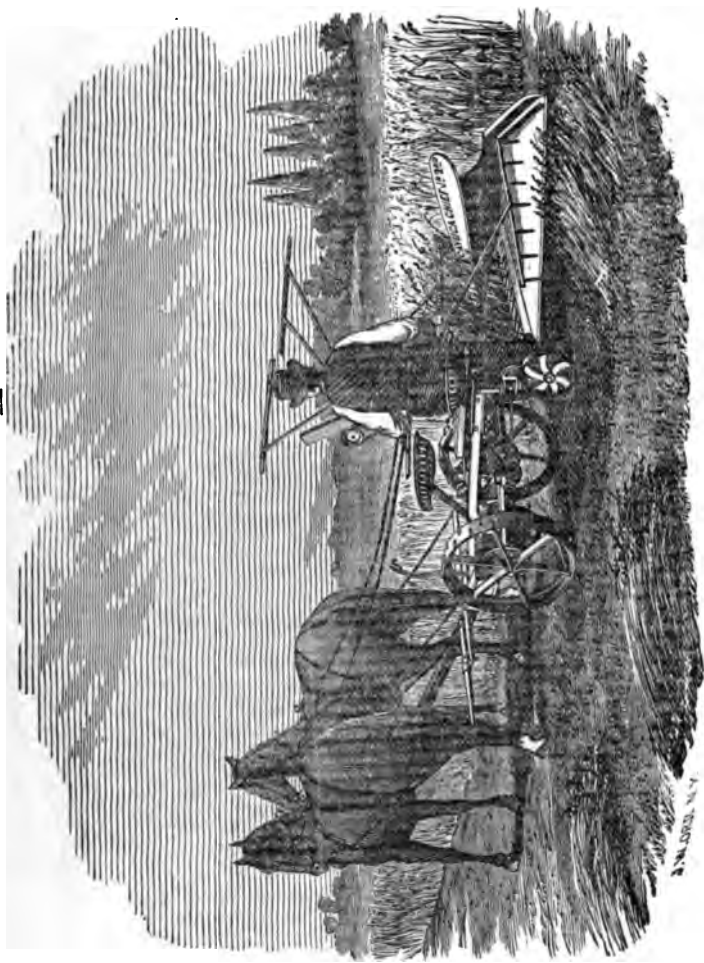


FIG. 66.—“Cayuga Chief,” No. 2, as a Hand Raking Reaper in 1862.



FIG. 67.—“Cayuga Chief, Jr.”—Mower of 1861.



FIG. 68.—“Cayuga Chief, Jr.”—on the Road, 1861.

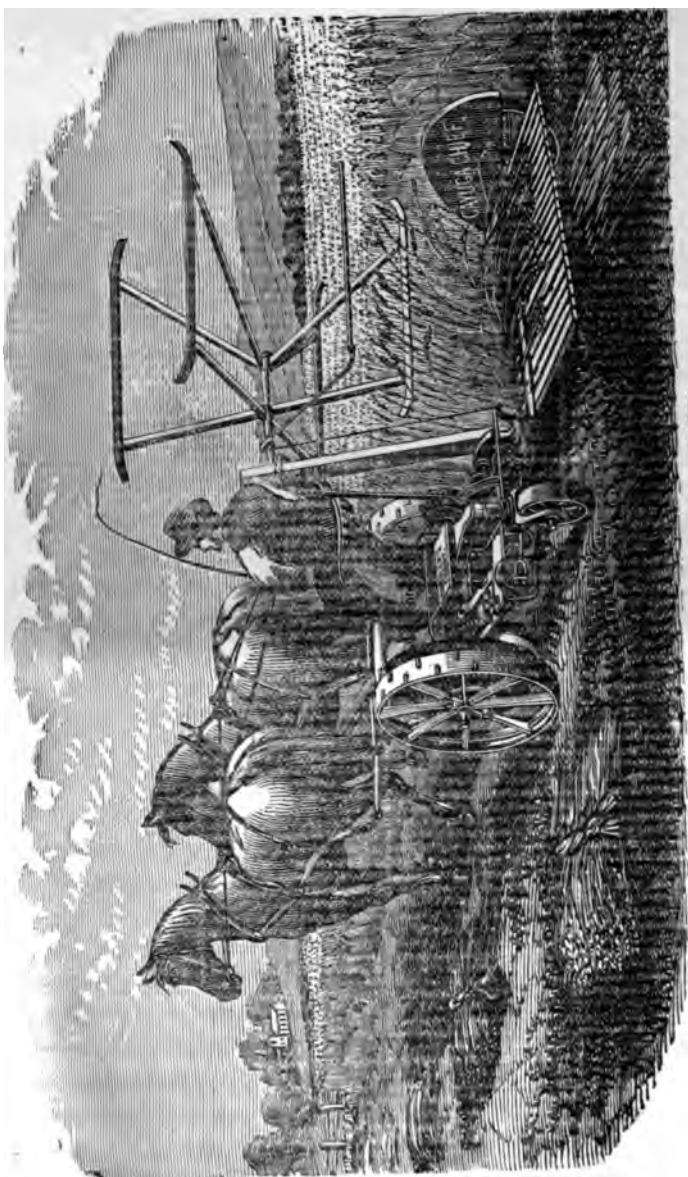


FIG. 69.—"Cayuga Chief" as a "Dropper"—1864.

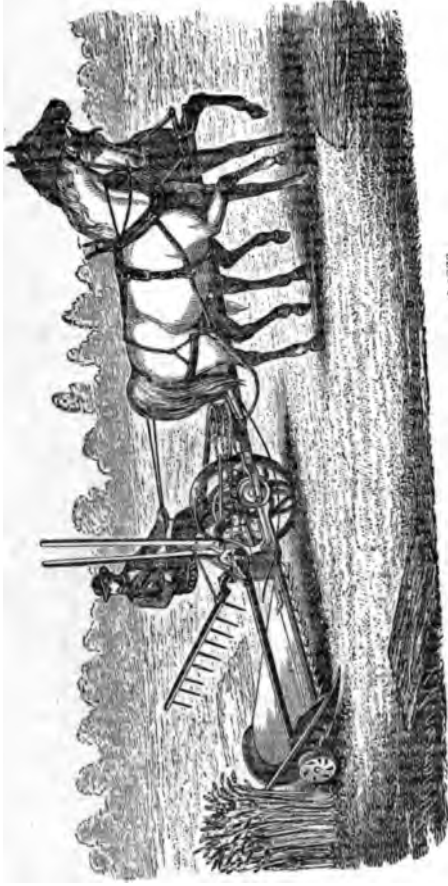


FIG. 10.—The Wheeler Single Reaper of 1866.



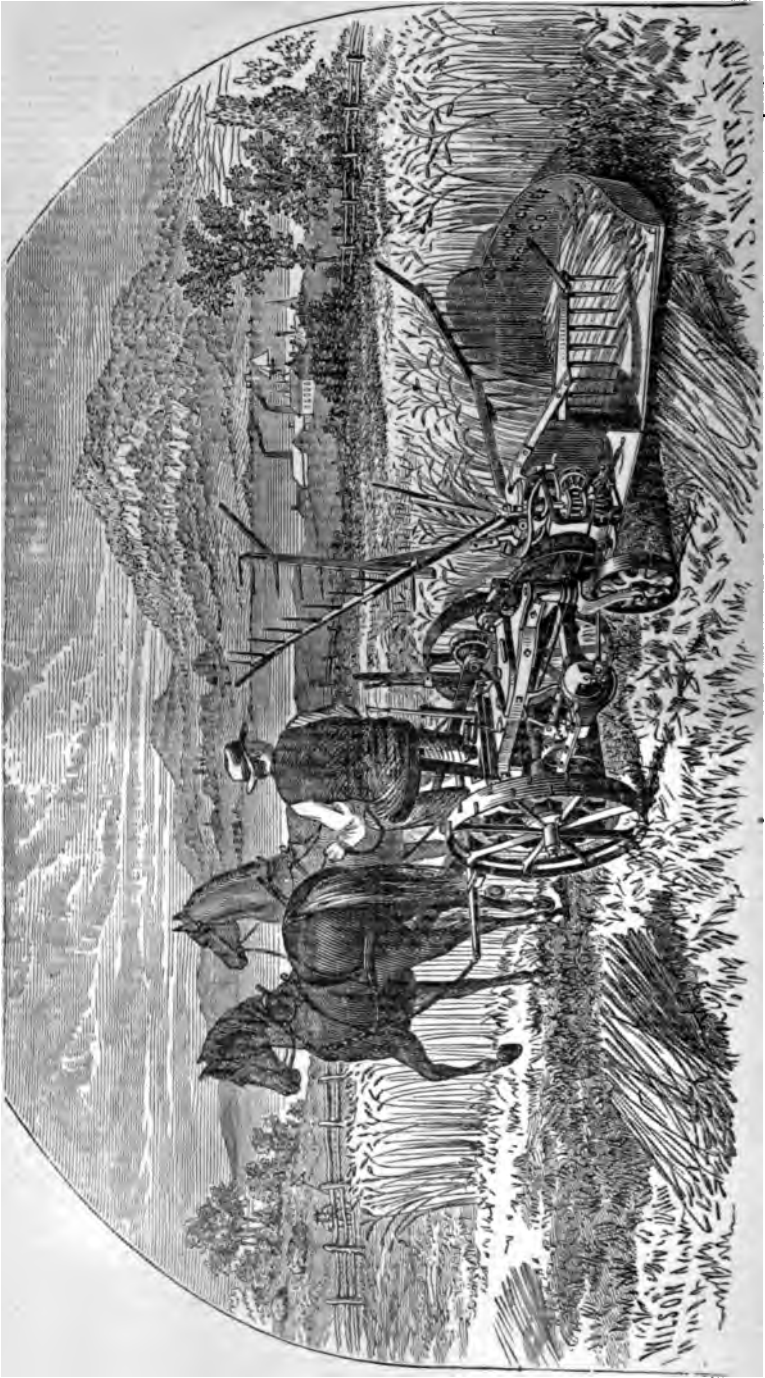


FIG. 71.—"Cayuga Chief" of 1887, with the Johnson Self-Boke.

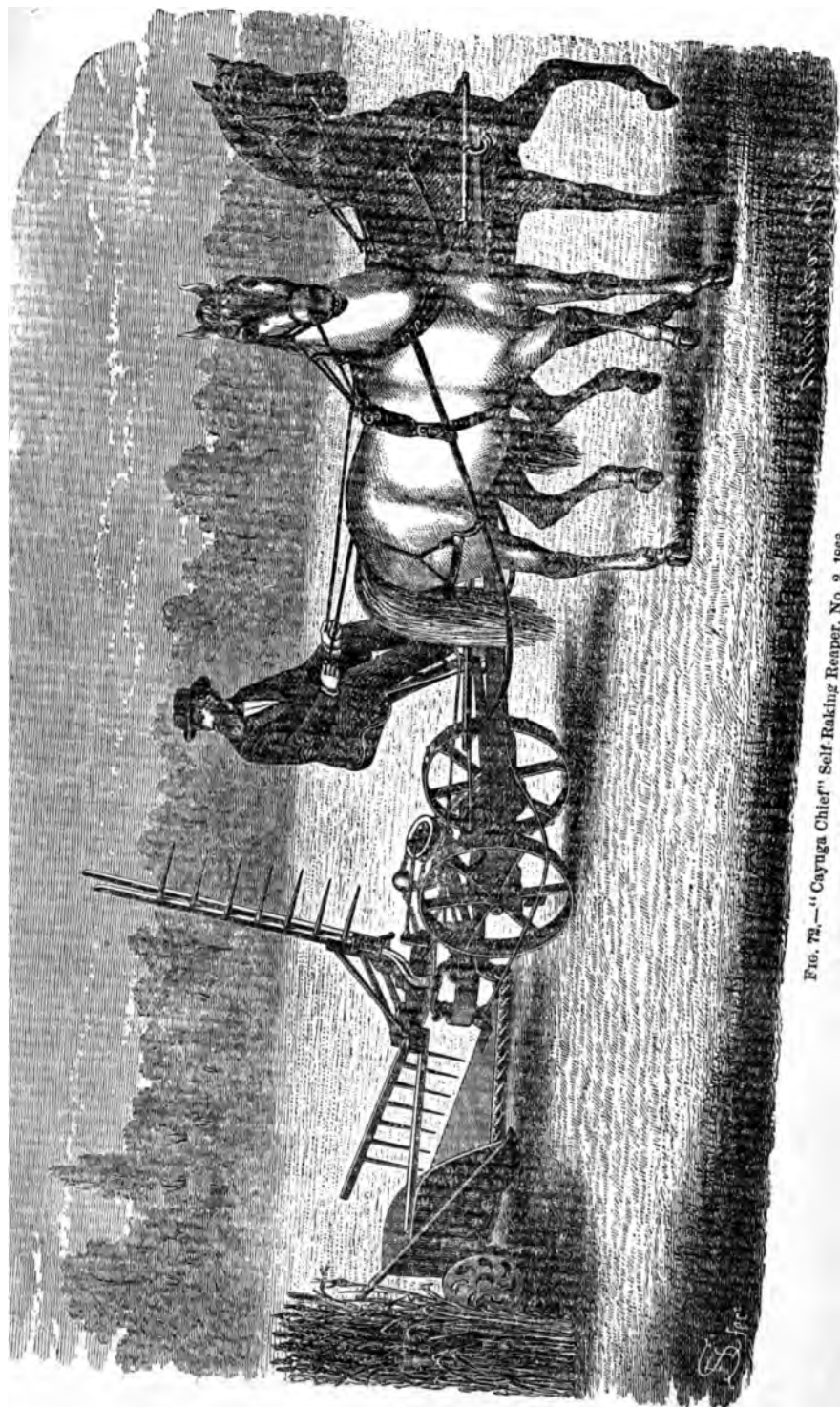


FIG. 72.—“Coyuga Chief” Self-Raking Reaper, No. 2, 1868.

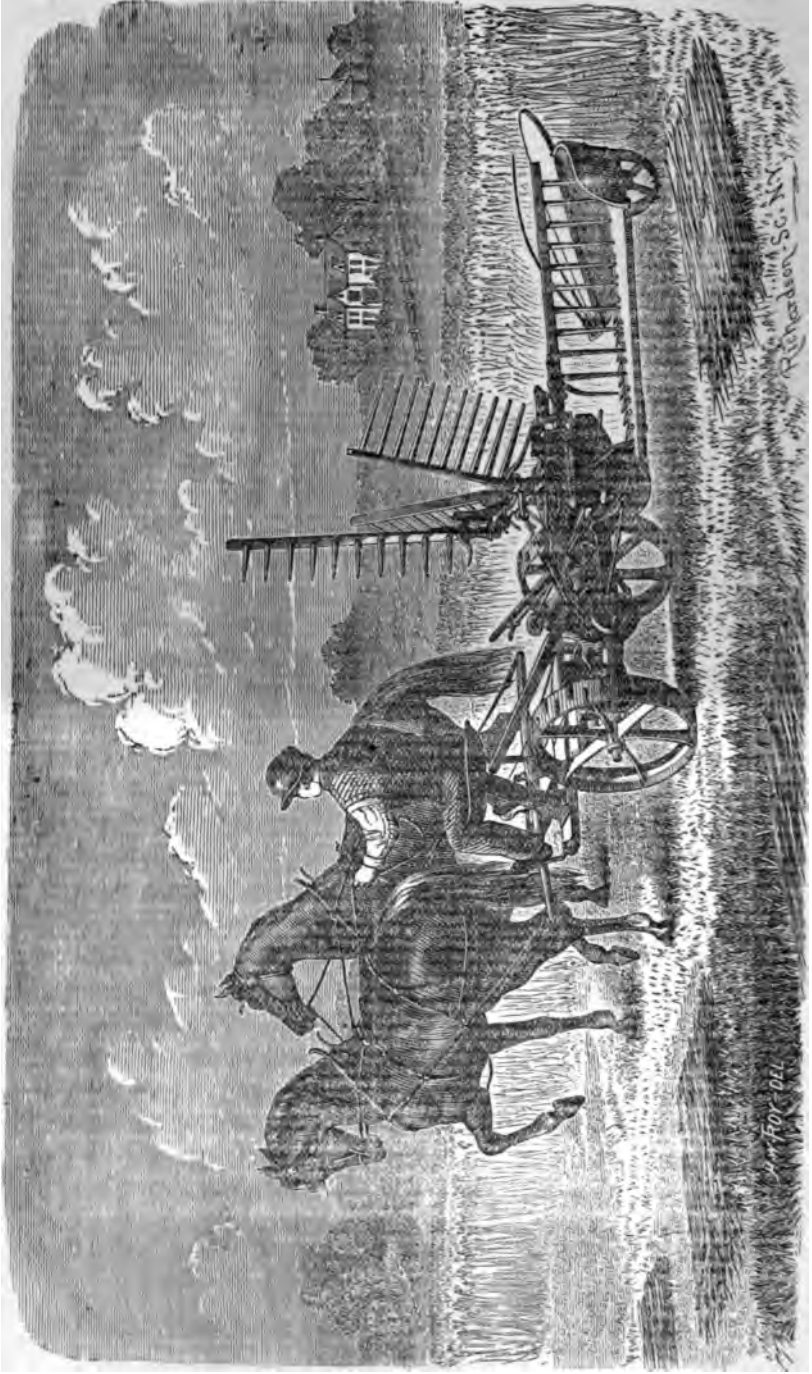


FIG. 78.—"Cayuga Chief" Self-Raking Harvester of 1890.

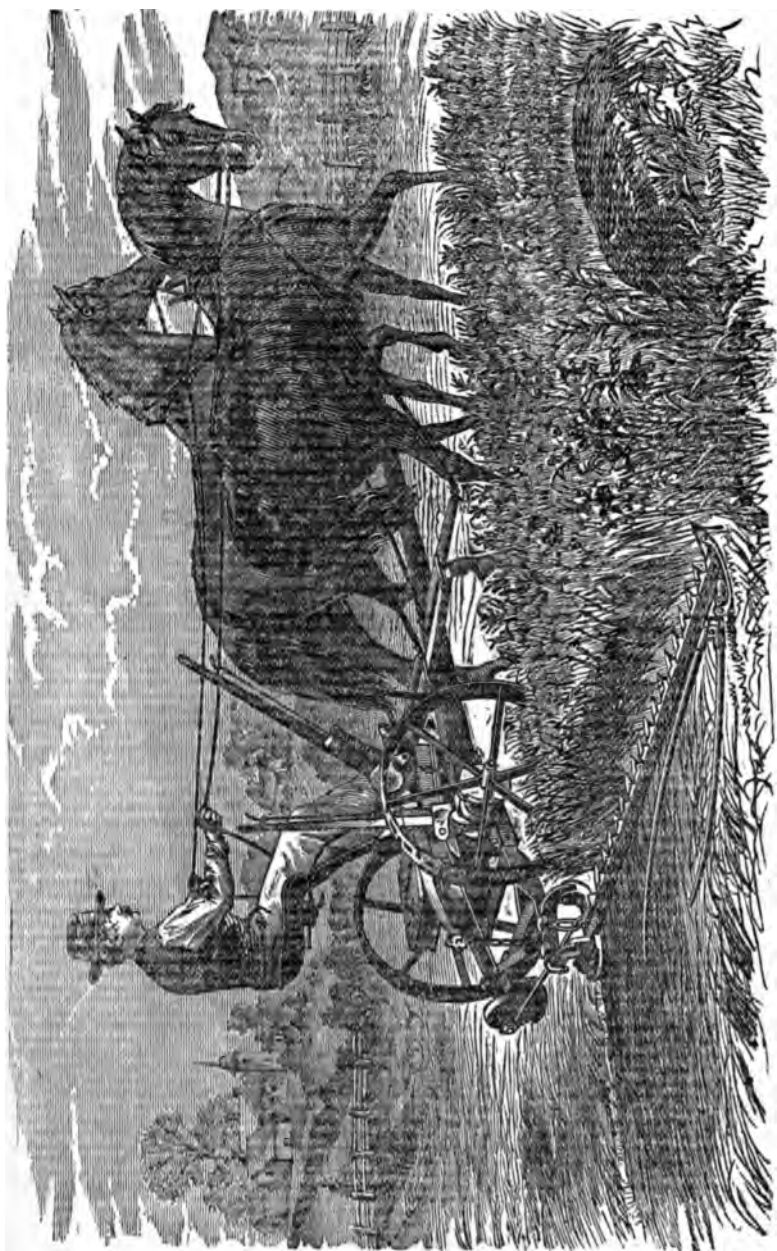
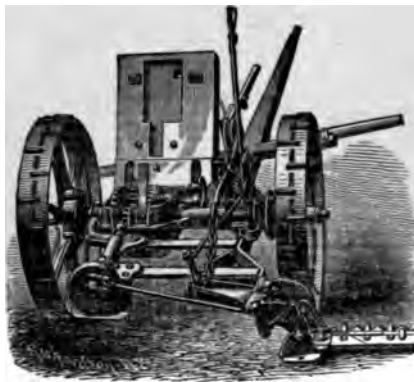


FIG. 74.—No. 6 Wheeler Mower, 1872.



**FIG. 75.—Wheeler Mower No. 6, with Cover Raised to Show Gearing.**

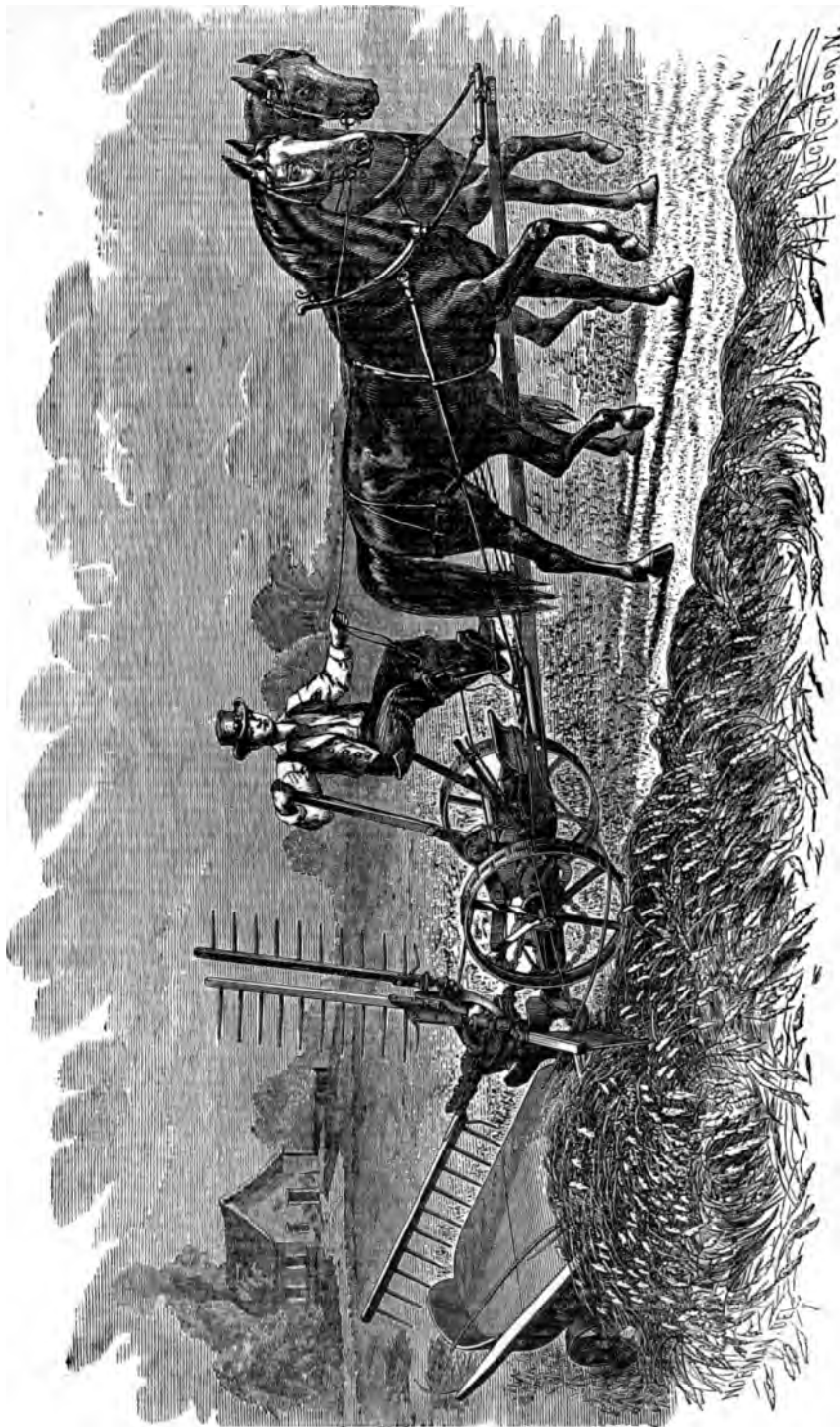


FIG. 76.—Wheeler No. 6 Combined Mower and Self-Raking Reaper—at Work in "Down Grain," 1873.

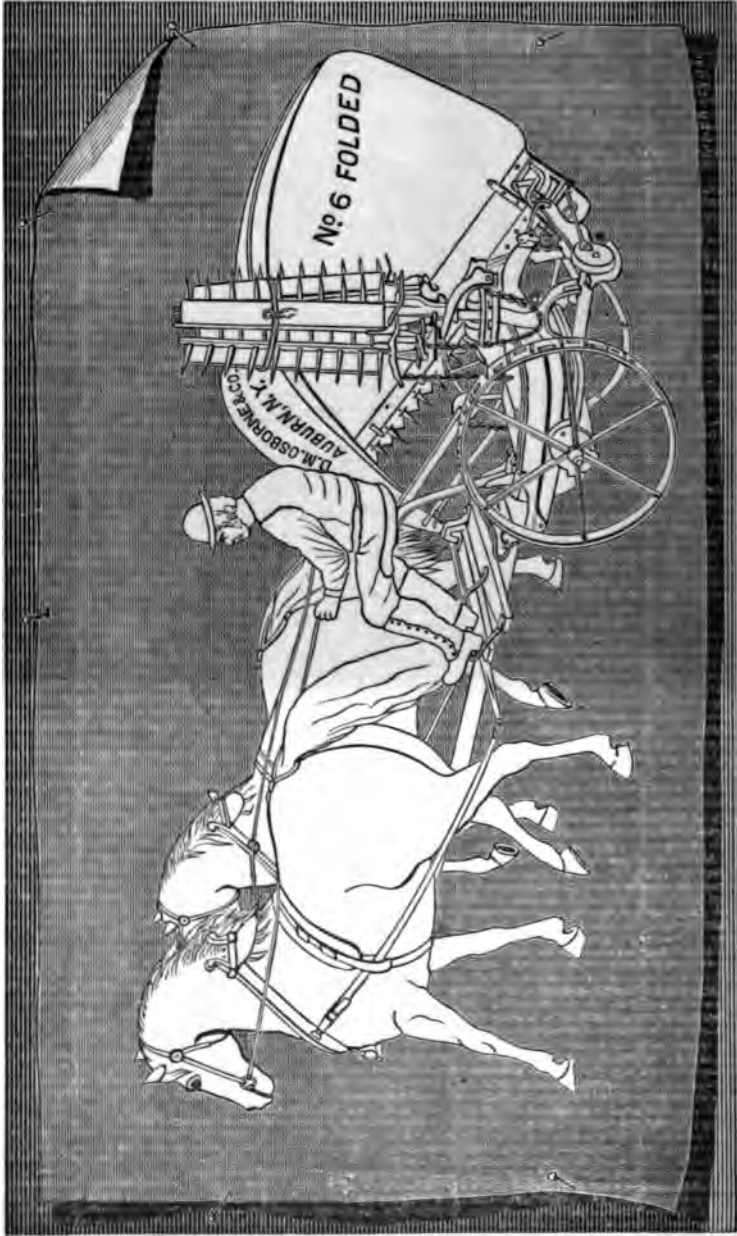


FIG. 77.—Wheeler Combined Machine No. 4, with Platform Folded. Mower and Self-Raking Reaper of 1873.

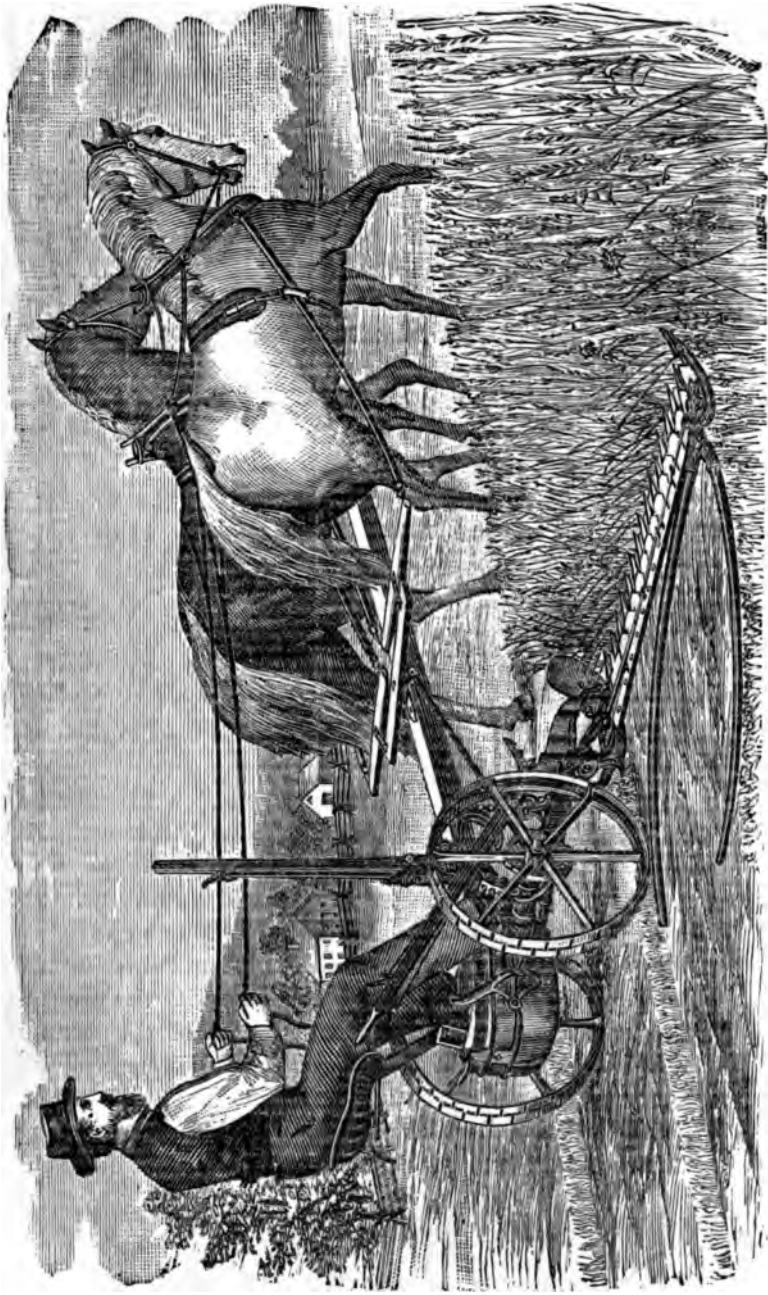


FIG. 78.—Independent Mower, No. 2, Front Cut. Wheeler Machine of 1881.



In 1860, the construction of the machine was changed by substituting wrought iron and steel for wood, and the distinctive name of "Cayuga Chief," adopted for it. Fig. 62 represents the machine as a mower, and Fig. 63 shows the finger bar folded and the machine on the road. This system of folding the finger bar around by the side of the machine, as shown, was adopted in the earlier machines and was covered by letters patent.

Fig. 64 represents the machine as used in 1860, for reaping. Fig. 65 represents the same machine as used for reaping in 1861, an "overhanging reel" being used. Fig. 66 represents a smaller sized "Cayuga Chief No. 2," as used for reaping in the year of 1862.

Fig. 67 represents a small mower, called the "Cayuga Chief, Jr.," as used in 1862; and Fig. 68 shows the same machine with the finger bar folded, and on the road.

Fig. 69 represents the "Cayuga Chief No. 1," in use as a "Dropper" in 1864.

Fig. 70 shows a one-wheeled self-raking reaper as used in 1866, and known as the "Auburn Harvester."

Fig. 71 is the "No. 1, Cayuga Chief," as used in the harvest of 1867, with the Johnston self-rake applied.

Fig. 72 represents the "Cayuga Chief," with self-rake attachment as used in 1868, two of the heads being what is known as "rolling heads." The same machine is shown in Fig. 73, with all "rolling head" rakes, and a different modification of the driving chain as in use in 1869 and 1870.

Fig. 74 represents the Wheeler No. 6 as a mower in use in 1872. Fig. 75 shows the same machine with the protecting cover raised to exhibit the arrangement of the gearing.

Fig. 76 represents the No. 6 as a "Self Raking Reaper" and as used in 1873. The same machine is shown in Fig. 77, with the finger bar and platform folded up, for traveling on the road, and Fig. 78 represents the "Wheeler front-cut

Mower" of 1881, and known at the present time as the "Osborne No. 2, Independent Mower."

In conclusion it may be stated that in preparing this article for the press, in the spring of 1882, it has been deemed advisable to introduce cuts to illustrate the descriptive matter and give a better understanding of the several subjects and their various stages of progress to the present state of development.

**NOTE.**—The preceding paper was read before the Society on the evening of December 21, 1880, instead of September 21, 1880 as set forth in sub-title, p. 91.





SUPPLEMENT TO  
"THE INVENTORS AND INVENTIONS  
OF CAYUGA COUNTY, N. Y."

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Read before the Cayuga County Historical Society, at Auburn, N. Y.,  
December 21st, 1880.

BY DAVID M. OSBORNE.



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SUPPLEMENT TO "THE INVENTORS AND  
INVENTIONS OF CAYUGA COUNTY."

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R. PRESIDENT:—I have one reason for regretting that some other member of this Society had not been charged with the work of writing a paper on "Inventors and Inventions of Cayuga County," and that reason is, that while no man understands the subject better or is better able to write such a paper than Mr. Wheeler, his modesty is so sensitive that he cannot speak of one inventor of Cayuga County with that freedom that another might. I therefore wish, with your permission, to add a short postscript to Mr. Wheeler's paper, and pay my tribute of respect to his inventive genius and to his industry and perseverance.

Cyrenus Wheeler, Jr., was born March 21st, 1817, in the town of Seekonk, Bristol Co., Mass., about three miles from Providence, R. I. When two years old his father moved to

Fall River, where he engaged in building cotton machinery and manufacturing cotton cloth. At an early age Mr. Wheeler worked in the machine shop and factory, beginning in the lowest and working up to the highest department, and at the age of 17 years was able to perform all the different operations required to convert the raw material into cloth. In 1835 he came with his father to this County, and settled on a farm one mile south of Poplar Ridge, where he lived for 29 years. Mr. Wheeler was a pretty good farmer, but his mind ran to machinery, and I judge from the complete workshops and the number of experimental machines which can now be seen about the farm where he spent those 29 years, that he was more intent in the invention and improvement of agricultural machinery than in hoeing his corn, or weeding his onions; and the Seed planters, Straw cutters, Horse Pitch Forks, and Mowing and Reaping Machines on his own farm testify to a busy life well spent in study and experiment.

He also experimented in his farming operations, and kept careful records of his tests extending through many years. But his most successful inventions were in the line of Mowing and Reaping Machines, and his crops on his farm were largely used and often sacrificed in practical tests of his inventions.

Manufacturers were slow in acknowledging and the farmers slow in applying his inventions, as has been the experience with nearly all inventors; but his industry and perseverance finally triumphed, and his success is attested by the fact that there is scarcely a Mowing or Reaping machine made in the world that does not carry on it some mark of Mr. Wheeler's invention, and I am glad to say that as long as his patents lived those inventions were acknowledged and royalties were paid for their use.

To attain this success, Mr. Wheeler has had to live a very

active life. He has told me that in the year 1863 he traveled in 18 States over 23,000 miles, including 40 trips between Poplar Ridge, where he lived, and Auburn.

It is to such men as Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Kirby, Mr. Burdick and Mr. Obed Hussey, who have devoted their lives to the improvement of machinery, by drawing from the sinews of iron and steel the work which but for them would have to be done by human labor, this country is largely indebted for its progress in the mechanic arts and the immense strides it is making in the development of its resources, and in taking its place, as it surely is, as the first nation of the world, first in resources, first in wealth, first in culture, and first in civilization.

It is the product of the brains of such men that enabled us to feed and maintain our army in the War of the Rebellion; the old men, women and children gathering the harvests, while the young men were fighting the battles. It enables the farmers of Cayuga County to do their own work, and send their sons and daughters to people the boundless prairies of Kansas, Nebraska and Dakota. It enables the almost countless emigrants from the Old World to settle and make homes in our forests. It enables one man to cut and bind twenty acres of grain in a day, instead of two acres, (and this has been done in your life-time, Mr. President.) It enables this country to grow a yearly surplus of two hundred million bushels of grain to send to the hungry people of Europe; and it enables a citizen of Cayuga County to say, that we have in this City (and I say this without egotism, but with the same honest pride which you or any one may say it), the largest manufactory of Harvesting Machinery there is in the world.

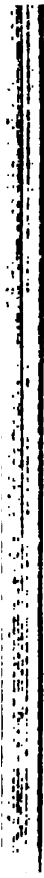
When the future writer on the subject of "Inventors and Inventions of Cayuga County," or of the State of New York, shall read his paper before your Society, he will place high



up in the list of names of men who have devoted their lives to invention and to improvements of the age, and who have done their country good and faithful service, the name of Cyrenus Wheeler, Jr.; for his name is inseparably connected with the history of harvesting machinery, and will remain so as long as the ripening grain shall wave over our hills and our valleys, and as long as this Republic remains true to its gratitude for her sons who work for her glory.







CAYUGA COUNTY  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
COLLECTIONS  
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CAYUGA COUNTY  
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AUBURN, N. Y.

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NUMBER THREE.

1884.





EARLY CHAPTERS  
OF  
SENECA HISTORY :

JESUIT MISSIONS IN SONNONTOUAN,

1656-1684 ;

WITH

ANNUAL ADDRESSES, 1883-'84.

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BY CHARLES HAWLEY, D. D.,

President of the Society.

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AUBURN, N. Y.

1884.

**TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY COPIES**

**NUMBER**

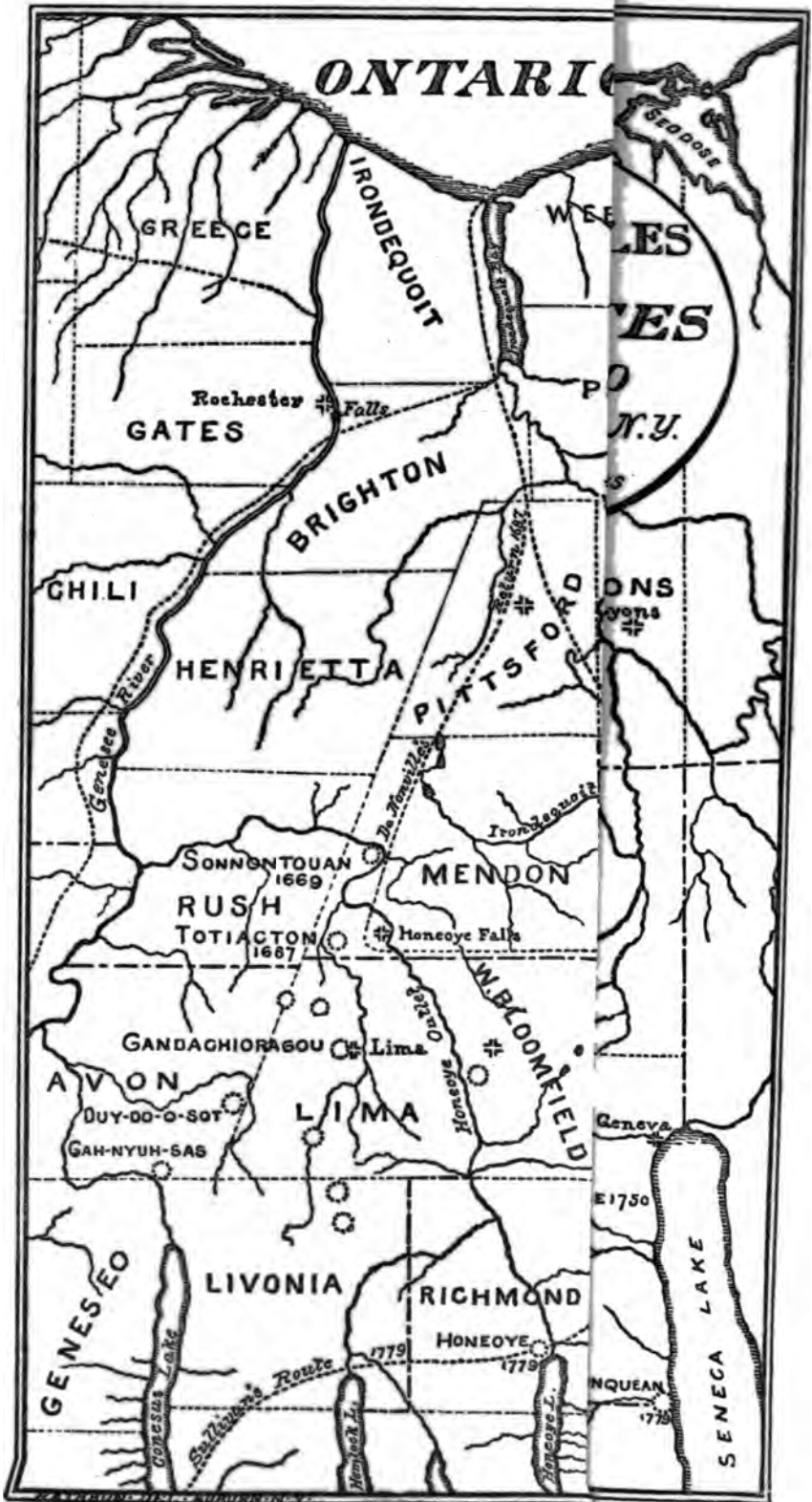
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Book, Job and Commercial Printers,  
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1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for transparency and accountability, particularly in the context of public administration and government operations. The text notes that without reliable records, it becomes difficult to track the flow of funds, assess performance, and identify areas for improvement.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and tools used to collect and analyze data. It highlights the need for standardized procedures to ensure consistency and reliability in the information gathered. The text also discusses the challenges associated with data collection, such as incomplete reporting and the potential for bias, and offers strategies to mitigate these issues. The importance of regular audits and reviews is also mentioned to ensure the integrity of the data.

3. The third part of the document focuses on the analysis and interpretation of the collected data. It explains how statistical methods and other analytical techniques can be used to identify trends, patterns, and correlations. The text stresses that the results of the analysis should be presented in a clear and concise manner, using visual aids like charts and graphs where appropriate. The goal is to provide decision-makers with the information they need to make informed choices and implement effective policies.

4. The final part of the document discusses the implications of the findings and the steps that should be taken to address any identified problems. It emphasizes that the ultimate purpose of the data collection and analysis process is to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the organization. The text concludes by encouraging a culture of continuous improvement and transparency, where the lessons learned from the data are used to drive positive change and enhance the overall quality of the organization's operations.



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## P R E F A C E .

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The plan of the present work is similar to that of the *Early Chapters of Cayuga History*, issued in 1879, as the first of a series intended to include a complete account of the missionary labors of the French Jesuit Fathers, in the several Iroquois cantons, in the last half of the seventeenth century. It has the same distinctive feature, in the use made of the Relations for the purposes of local history, which belongs to the previous publication. These records of two centuries ago, are allowed to tell their own story of devotion and heroism, while they also serve a most trustworthy guide to the researches of the antiquarian, topographer, and local historian, as will be seen in the notes to the translations in the text, and the accompanying map.

The writer would acknowledge his indebtedness, as in the preparation of the Cayuga Chapters, to Dr. John Gilmary Shea, author of *Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the U. S.*, (and kindred volumes illustrating the early history of the country,) for his counsel and aid, which has been of service in various particulars. The introductory chapter, which narrates the first missionary visit to the Indians within the present limits of the state of New York, and chapter VIII which concludes the history of the Seneca Mission, were furnished by him, while the translations that



compose the body of the work, were submitted to his careful revision. It also gives me pleasure to direct attention to the notes contributed by Gen. John S. Clark, of Auburn, over his own initials, as of special value. They are the result of much study and research, and so far as they relate to Indian village sites, of repeated personal inspection of the several localities, until entire satisfaction has been reached. It is hardly possible to appreciate the patient labor inspired by the true historic spirit, required to attain accuracy in this department of study.

C. H.

AUBURN, N. Y., July, 1884.

## Jesuit Missions Among the Senecas.

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### I.

The earliest attempt at mission work in Western New York was that of the Franciscan Father Joseph de la Roche Daillon, a zealous man who though of high rank, belonging to the family of the Dukes du Lud, devoted himself to the American missions with all their hardships and privations.

Sagard preserves the following letter of this clergyman addressed to a friend at Angers in France, giving an account of his visit to the Neuter nation in 1626-7. It properly forms a preliminary chapter of the present series, since after the overthrow of the Neuters by the Iroquois in 1650, their territory was incorporated in the Seneca canton and one of the principle villages, Gandougare, was at the time of the missionary labors of the Jesuit Fathers among the Senecas, composed largely of captives from the conquered nation. In the wars between the Iroquois and the Hurons, which resulted in the destruction of the latter, in 1649, the Neuters took part with neither; and it was their neutral position that gave them their name.

#### NARRATIVE OF FATHER DE LA ROCHE DAILLON.<sup>1</sup>

“SIR:—My humble salutation in the mercy of Jesus. It is still permitted though separated by distance to visit one's

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<sup>1</sup> Translated by Dr. John Gilmary Shea as the introductory chapter of the present work. The notes, together with the sketch of Brulé which follows the narrative, are also from his pen, except as otherwise indicated.

friends by missives, which render absent persons present. Our Indians are astonished at this, seeing that we often write to our Fathers who are at a distance from us, and that by our letters they learn our thoughts and even what these very Indians had done at the place of our residence.

After having made some stay in our convent in Canada, and communicated with our Fathers, and the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, I was induced by religious impulse to visit the sedentary nations whom we call Huron, and with me the Reverend Fathers Brebeuf and De Noue, Jesuits. Having arrived there, with all the hardships each one can conceive, by reason of the wretched roads, I received a letter (some time after) from our Reverend Father Joseph le Caron, by which he encouraged me to push on further to a nation which we call Neutral, of which the interpreter Brulé told wonders. Encouraged by so good a Father and the great account made to me of this people, I journeyed thither and set out from the Hurons with this design, October 18, 1626, with one named Grenolle, and La Vallée, Frenchmen by nation.<sup>1</sup>

Passing by the nation of the Petun,<sup>2</sup> I made the acquaintance and friendship of a chief who is in great repute there, who promised me to guide us to that Neuter nation, and furnish Indians to carry our packages, and the small stock of provisions that we had laid up, for it is self-deceit to think of living in these countries as mendicants, these people never

<sup>1</sup> "We have no knowledge of any one who proceeded thither with the design of preaching the gospel, except the Rev. Father Joseph de la Roche Daillon, Recollect, who in 1626 made a journey to that country and spent the winter there." Relation 1641, p. 74. It is evident that the Neuters lay on both sides the Niagara, as late as 1640, although at that time the Wenro, and perhaps other bands had been forced away by the Senecas, and only the smaller portion of the villages were on the Iroquois side of the Niagara. From the proximity of Ounontiseaston where Father de la Roche wintered to the Wenros, who were on the Iroquois frontier, the presumption is very strong that that Neutral town was east of the Niagara, and in what is now New York.

<sup>2</sup> These are the Tionontates or Dinondadies, who were overthrown with the Hurons. Their descendants form principally the western band now known as Wyandots.

thinking to give unless you put them under obligation, and it is often necessary to make long stages and even pass many nights without finding any other shelter than that of the stars. He fulfilled to our satisfaction what he had promised us, and we slept only five nights in the woods, and on the sixth day we arrived at the first village, where we were very well received, thanks to our Lord, and then to four other villages which competing with each other brought us food, some venison, others squashes, neintahouy<sup>1</sup> and the best they had, and they were astonished to see me dressed in the style and that I desired nothing belonging to them, only that I invited them by signs to raise their eyes to Heaven, and make the sign of the Holy Cross, and what filled them with wonder was to see me retire at certain hours of the day to pray to God, and devote myself to interior exercises, for they had never seen religious, except towards the Petuneux and the Hurons, their neighbors.

At last we reached the sixth village,<sup>2</sup> where I had been advised to remain; I had a council held here, where you will remark, by the way, that they call all their assemblies councils, which they hold seated on the ground, as often as it pleases their chiefs, not in a hall, but in a cabin, or in the open field, with very strict silence as long as the chief speaks, and they are inviolable observers of what they have once concluded and determined.

There I told them through the interpreter that I had come in the name of the French, to form alliance and friendship with them, and to invite them to come to the trade, that I

<sup>1</sup> Sagard in his Huron dictionary explains this to be parched corn.

<sup>2</sup> He calls this subsequently Ounontiaaston. In 1640 Father Brebeuf calls the village furthest from the Hurons, and only one day's journey from the Senecas, "the last town of the Neuter nation on the east side, called Onguiaahra, the same name as the river." *Relation 1641*, p. 75. The town nearest the Hurons was Kandoucho. *Ib.* Teotogiaton was midway. *Ib.* p. 78. Brebeuf and Chaumonot visited 18 of the Neuter towns and apparently crossed the Niagara, p. 78, as Father de la Roche Dallon did. Unfortunately Champlain mentions no Neuter village in his text or map.

also begged them to permit me to remain in their country, in order to be able to instruct them in the law of our God, which is the only means of going to Heaven. They accepted all my offers, and assured me they were very pleasing to them, consoled by which, I made them a present of the little I had, as little knives and other trifles, which they esteem at a high price, for in these countries you never treat of anything with the Indians without making them presents of something or other, and in return they begot me (as they say) that is, they declared me a citizen and a child of the country, and gave me in charge (a mark of great affection) to Souharissen, who was my father and my host, for according to age, they are accustomed to call us cousin, brother, son, uncle or nephew, &c. This one is the chief of the greatest credit and authority, who has ever been in all the nations, for he is chief not of his village only, but of all those of his nation, to the number of twenty-eight, including towns, cities, and villages, built like those of the Huron country, as well as of several little hamlets of seven or eight cabins, built in various places, convenient for fishing, hunting or cultivating the ground.

This is without example among the other nations to have so absolute a Chief. He acquired this honor and power by his courage, and for having several times gone to war against the seventeen nations who are their enemies and brought back heads, or brought in prisoners from all.

Those who are valiant in this style are highly esteemed among them. And though they have only the war club and the bow, yet they are very war like, and dexterous in these arms. After all this friendly welcome, our Frenchmen having returned, I remained, the happiest man in the world, hoping to advance something there for God's glory or at least to discover the means, which would be no small thing, and to endeavor to learn the mouth of the river of the Iroquois in order to conduct them to the trade.

I have also done my best to learn their customs and mode of life, and during my stay I visited them in their cabins, to know and instruct them, and I found them sufficiently tractable, and I often made the little children, who are very bright, stark naked and disheveled, make the sign of the Holy Cross, and I remarked that in all these countries I never saw any humpbacked, one-eyed, or misshapen.

I have always seen them firm in their wish to go with at least four canoes to the trade, if I would guide them; the whole difficulty was that we did not know the way. Yroquet, an Indian known in these countries, who had come there with twenty of his people to hunt beaver, and who took at least five hundred, was never willing to give us any mark to know the mouth of the river. He and several Hurons assured us firmly that it was only ten days' sail to the place of trade, but we were afraid of taking one river for another, and losing our way or dying of starvation in the land.

For three months I had every reason in the world to be satisfied with my people. But the Hurons having discovered that I talked of taking them to the trade, spread through all the village where they passed, very evil rumors about me, that I was a great magician; that I had diseased the air in their country and poisoned several; that if they did not soon make way with me that I would set fire to their villages, and make all their children die; in fine, that I was, as they represented, an *Atatanite*—this is their word to signify one who makes sorceries, which they hold in the greatest horror; and, by the way, know that there are many sorcerers who undertake to cure the sick by mummeries and other fancies.<sup>1</sup>

In fine, these Hurons have always told them so much evil of the French that they could imagine, in order to divert them from trading with us, that the French were inapproach-

---

<sup>1</sup> When the Jesuits Brebenf and Chaumonot attempted a mission among the Neuters in 1640, the same accusations were made against them by Hurons. Relation 1641, p. 75.

able, harsh, sad and melancholy men, who live on nothing but snakes and poison; that we eat the thunder<sup>1</sup> (which they imagine to be an unparalleled monster, relating strange stories about it); that we all had tails like animals, and that our women had only one breast, which was in the middle of the bosom; that they bore five or six children at a birth, and they added a thousand other absurdities to make us hated by them.

And in fact these good people who are very easily persuaded, conceived such a mistrust of me, as soon as any one fell sick, they came to ask me whether it was not true that I had poisoned him, that they would surely kill me if I did not cure him. I had much difficulty in excusing and defending myself. At last ten men of the last village called Ouaroronon,<sup>2</sup> one day's march from the Hiroquois, their kindred and friends, coming to trade in our village, came to see me and invited me to visit them in return at their village. I promised to do so without fail, when the snow had melted, and to give them all some trifles, with which they showed themselves satisfied. Thereupon they left the cabin where I lodged, all the time hiding their evil designs against me, and seeing that it was growing late, they came back to see me, and brusquely began to quarrel with me, without provocation. One knocked me down with a blow of his fist, and the other took an axe, and as he was about to lay my head open, God diverted his hand and turned the blow on a post that was there near me. I received several other ill treatments, but that is what we come to seek in these countries. Quieting a little,

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<sup>1</sup> This had reference to the use of gunpowder.

<sup>2</sup> "The Wenrotronons formed hitherto one of the nations associated to the Nenter nation and were situated on their borders, on the side of the Hiroquois, the common enemy of all these nations." Relation 1639, p. 53. After stating their abandonment by the Neuters and their emigration to the Huron country it speaks of their march of more than 80 leagues, on which there were more than 600 persons, the women and little children constituting the greater part."—Ib. p. 61.

they vented their anger on the little property we had left. They took our writing desk, blanket, breviary and our bag in which there were some pocket-knives, needles, awls, and other little things of like quality, and having thus stripped me, they went off all that night overjoyed at their exploit, and on arriving at their village, on making an examination of their booty, touched perhaps by a repentance come from the Most High, they sent me back our breviary, compass, writing desk, blanket and sack, but it was quite empty.

On their arrival in my village, called Ounontisaston, there were only women there, the men having gone to hunt stags. On their return they manifested to me that they were sorry for the disaster that had befallen me, then no more was said about it.

The rumor spread forthwith to the Hurons, that I had been killed, whereupon the good Fathers Brebeuf and de Noue, who had remained there, sent Grenolle promptly to me to learn the truth, with orders that if I were alive to bring me back, to which I was invited also by the letter which they had written me with the pen of their good will, and I did not wish to gainsay them, since such was their advice and that of all the French, who feared more disasters than profit by my death, and thus returned I to the country of our Hurons, where I am at present all admiring the divine effects of Heaven.

The country of this Neuter nation is incomparably greater, finer and better than any other of all these countries.<sup>1</sup> There

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<sup>1</sup> "There is also two days' journey from these (the Petuns) another nation of Indians who raise a great quantity of tobacco, on the side towards the south, who are called the Neuter nations who number 4,000 warriors, who dwell west of the lake of the Entonhomorons, 80 to 100 leagues in extent." Laverdiere's Champlain, 1619, p. 60. "These Neuters enjoy, according to the report of some, eighty leagues of country, where they raise very good tobacco, which they trade with their neighbors. They assist the Cheveux Relevez (Ottawas) against the Nation of Fire, of whom they are mortal enemies; but between the Hlroquois and our Hurons \* \* \* they had peace and remained neutral between the two nations." Sagard, p. 833. "From the first town of the Neuter nation



is an incredible number of stags there, which they do not take one by one, as is done on this side, but making three hedges in a spacious place, they run them all ahead, until they collect them in this place, where they take them; and they have this maxim for all kinds of animals, whether they need them or not, to kill all they find, for fear, as they say, that if they do not take them the beasts would go and inform the others how they had been pursued, and that afterwards, in their necessity, they would no longer find any. A great abundance of moose or elk, beaver, raccoons, and black squirrels, larger than those of France, are found there, a great quantity of wild geese, turkeys, cranes, and other animals, which remain there all winter, which is not long nor rigorous as in Canada, and no snow had fallen there on the 22d of November, which was not at most more than two feet deep, and began to melt on the 26th of January. On the 8th of March<sup>1</sup> there was no longer any at all in the open places, though there was a little, indeed, in the woods. Residence there is pleasant and convenient enough, the rivers furnish quantities of very good fish, the soil gives good corn more than for their want. There are squashes, beans and other vegetables in plenty, and very good oil which they call a Touronton,<sup>2</sup> so that I do not doubt but that we should settle

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found on proceeding from here (the Hurons) keeping on south or southwest it is about four days' journey to the mouth of the so famous river of that nation in Ontario or Lake St. Louis. This side of that river and not beyond it, as a certain map states, are the most of the towns of the Neuter nation. There are three or four beyond ranged from east to west towards the Nation of the Cat or Eriechronons. This river is that by which our great lake of the Hurons or Mer Douce, which flows first into that of Erie or the Nation of the Cat, and there it enters into the lands of the Neuter nation and takes the name of Onguiaahra, till it empties into Ontario."—Relation 1641, p. 71. The map referred to is evidently Champ'ain's, of 1632, where he makes the Niagara run from west to east and places the Neuters entirely west of Lake Ontario and south of the Niagara. The oil springs in their country were evidently east not west of that river.

<sup>1</sup> This fixes apparently the period of his stay in the country of the Neuters from November 22, 1626, to about March 8, 1627.

<sup>2</sup> "The copyist of the Father's letter mistook in my opinion, the Huron word Otoronton, which he makes to mean *oil*; for it is, properly speaking, *much*, or *Oh! how much there is!*—Sagard, p. 893.

there rather than elsewhere, and, doubtless on a longer stay there would be hope of advancing God's glory, which is more to be sought than aught else, and their conversion is more to be hoped for the faith than that of the Hurons, and I am astonished how the Company of Merchants, since the time they have come to these countries, have not made some Frenchmen winter in said country; I say assuredly that it would be very easy to lead them to the trade, which would be a great advantage to go and come by so short and easy a route,<sup>1</sup> as I have already told you, for to go trading to the Hurons amid all the difficult rapids, and always in danger of drowning, is scarcely attractive, and then to march for six days from the Hurons to this country, crossing the land by fearful and awful routes as I have seen—these are insupportable hardships and he alone knows it, who has found himself amid them.

I say then that the gentlemen associates should, in my opinion, send some Frenchmen to winter in the country of the Neuters, who are less remote than that of the Hurons, for they can proceed by the lake of the Hiroquois to the place where the trade is held<sup>2</sup> in ten days at most; this lake is their's also, the one on the one shore, and the others on

<sup>1</sup> "I conjecture also easily the proximity of the Neuters to Quebec, in that the Hiroquois are nearer to the French than the Hurons are, and the Neuters are only a day's journey from the Hiroquois, who all lie southward."—Sagard.

<sup>2</sup> The place of trade, already several times mentioned, was on Lake St. Peter, about fifty miles below Montreal. Sagard in 1638 says: \* \* \* \* "After having been refreshed for several days with our brethren, and enjoyed their sweet conversation, in our little Convent, we ascended in our barques by the River St. Lawrence for the trade of the Cape of Victory, which is from Quebec about fifty leagues. \* \* \* \* We reached Lake St. Peter, which is six or seven leagues long, and three or four wide in places, and four fathoms deep where the water is still. \* \* \* \* A little above the outlet of the lake we enter the harbor of Cape Victory and cast anchor about six or seven o'clock in the evening of the day of St. Magdalen, where already were encamped along the bank, a great number of savages of various nations for the trade of beavers with the French. \* \* \* \* From the harbor one sees in front six or seven islands covered with beautiful trees of uniform height, which conceal from view the lake and the river of the Iroquois, which discharge itself into the great river opposite the harbor." (Sagard's History of Canada, I, 172)—J. S. C.

the other, but I see one obstacle, which is they hardly know how to manage canoes, especially at rapids, although there are only two, but they are long and dangerous. Their real trade is hunting and war, outside of that they are great sluggards, whom you see like beggars in France, when they are full, lying on their belly in the sun. Their life, like that of the Hurons, very dissolute, and their manners and customs entirely the same. The language is different, however, but they understand each other as the Aloumequins and Montagnais do.<sup>1</sup> As for clothes, do not look for any among them, for they do not wear even breech cloths, which is very strange, and is scarcely found in the most savage tribes. And to tell you the truth, it would not be expedient to let all kinds of people come here, for the wicked life of some Frenchmen is a pernicious example to them, and in all these countries, the people though barbarous, reproach us, saying that we teach them things contrary to what our Frenchmen practice. Think, sir, what weight our words can have after that; yet better is to be hoped for, since what consoled me on my return was to see that our countrymen had made their peace with our Lord, had confessed and received communion at Easter, and had sent away their women, and have since been more guarded.

I must tell you that they treated our Fathers so harshly, that even two men of whom the Jesuit Fathers had deprived themselves for their accommodation, have been driven out by force, and they were unwilling to give them any provisions to nourish and support some Indian boys who desired to live with us, although they promised to have them remunerated by some of our benefactors. It is cruel to be treated in this

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<sup>1</sup> "Our Hurons call the Neuter nation Attiwandaronk, as much as to say, "People of a language a little different," for as to nations which speak a language that they do not understand at all, they call them Akwanake, of whatever nation they may be, as if to say "Strangers." The people of Neuter Nation in turn for the same reason call our Hurons "Attiwandaronk." Relation 1641, p. 72.

sort, by our very countrymen, but since we are Friars Minor, our condition is to suffer and to pray to God to give us patience.

It is said that two new Fathers came to us from France, named Father Daniel Boursier and Father Francis de Binville, who had been promised us already last year; if this be so, I beg you as a crowning of all your trouble, that you take for me, to let me have without fail a habit that they can send me, it is all that I ask, for no cloth is made here, and ours being all worn out, I cannot do without one. The poor religious of St. Francis having food and clothing, this is their whole lot on earth; Heaven we hope under favor of our good God in whose service we must voluntarily devote our life for the salvation of these benighted people, in order that it please him, if he accept our care, to make Christianity flourish in these countries. God permits martyrdom to those who merit it, I am sorry not to be in that state, and yet I am not unaware that to be recognized a true servant of God, one must expose himself for his brethren. Come then bravely pain and toil, all difficulties and death itself will be agreeable to me, God's grace being with me, which I implore by means of the prayers of all our good friends over there, whose, sir, and your most humble servant,

I am in our Lord.

Dated at Toanchain, a Huron village, this 18th day of July, 1627.

Stephen Brulé, whose eulogy of the country of the Neuters led Father de la Roche Daillon, to visit them, had, we must infer, already been in that part of the country, and been struck by its advantages. He came over at a very early age and was employed by Champlain from about 1610 and perhaps earlier. He was one of the first explorers, proceeding to the Huron country and acquiring their language so as to serve as interpreter. (Laverdiere's Champlain, vi pp. 244-266). As early as

September 8, 1615, when Champlain was preparing to join the Hurons in their expedition against the Entouhonorons, in Central New York, Stephen Brulé set out with a party of twelve Hurons from Upper Canada for the towns of the Carantouannais, allies of the Hurons, living on the Susquehanna, and evidently forming part of the confederacy known later as the Andastes. (Ib. (1615.) p. 35) to secure their co-operation against the enemy.

He crossed from Lake Ontario apparently to the Susquehanna, defeated a small Iroquois party and entered the Carantouannais town in triumph.<sup>1</sup> The force marched too slowly to join Champlain, and Brulé returned to their country where he wintered. He descended their river (the Susquehanna,) visiting the neighboring tribes, meeting several who complained of the harshness of the Dutch. At last he started to rejoin his countrymen, but his party was attacked and scattered by the Iroquois, and Brulé losing his way entered an Iroquois village. He tried to convince them that he was not of the same nation of whites who had just been attacking them, but they fell upon him, tore out his nails and beard and began to burn him in different parts of the body. He was far from being an exemplary character, but wore an Agnus Dei, and when the Indians went to tear this from his neck he threatened them with the vengeance of Heaven. Just then a terrible thunder storm came up, his tormentors fled and the chief released him. After he had spent some time with them they escorted him four days' journey and he made his way to the Atinouaentans, the Huron tribe occupying the peninsula between Nattawassaga and Matchedash bays on Lake Huron (Laverdiere's Champlain 1619, pp. 134-140, 1615, p. 26; Sagard, Histoire du Canada, p. 466.)

<sup>1</sup> Carantouan was in the environs of present Waverly, in Tioga County, N. Y., on the line between Pennsylvania and New York, on the east side of Chemung River. It was enclosed by a palisaded work, the remains of which are still plain to be seen, containing about ten acres. Brulé reported that in 1615 it contained 800 warriors.—J. S. C.

He found Champlain in 1618, and made his report to him. It was apparently on this return march that he passed through the territory of the Neuters, as it would be his safest course. We find him in Quebec in 1623, when he was sent to meet and bring down the Hurons coming to trade. He returned with them, leading a very dissolute life among the Indians (as Sagard complained).—Laverdiere's Champlain, 1624, p. 81. When Kirk took Quebec he went over to the English, and was sent up to the Hurons in their interest in 1629, notwithstanding the bitter reproaches of Champlain. (Ib. 1632, p. 267.) Sagard, writing in 1636, states that provoked at his conduct the Hurons put him to death and devoured him.—Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, p. 466, Lejeune Relation 1633, p. 34. The latter fact is not mentioned by the Jesuits. From the remark of Father Brebeuf (Relation 1635, p. 28,) it would seem that he met his death at the very town, Toanchain, whence Father de la Roche wrote. It was about a mile from Thunder Bay.—Laverdiere's Champlain 1619, p. 27.

Such was the fate of the man who was the first to cross from Lake Ontario to the Susquehanna, and pass from the village of the Iroquois through the Neutral territory to the shores of Lake Huron.

## II.

The founder of the first mission among the Senecas in 1656 was Father Joseph Chaumonot, an old Huron missionary, not less distinguished for his eloquence than for his pious devotion. He came to Onondaga, the capital of the Iroquois Confederacy, the year previous, together with Father Claude Dablon, and remained there during the winter of 1655-6, preparing the way for the establishment of missions in the several Iroquois cantons.<sup>1</sup>

The following narrative of his work in founding the Seneca missions, is translated from Chapter XVII of *Relation* for 1657,<sup>2</sup> viz:

### CONCERNING THE PUBLICATION OF THE FAITH AMONG THE SONNONTOUANS.

The country of the Sonnontouans (Senecas), which is much the most fertile and populous of the cantons of the Iroquois, contains two very large towns and a number of lesser villages, besides a town of the Hurons named St. Michael, who took refuge there in order to escape the common calamity of their nation.<sup>3</sup> These Hurons, who have preserved their

<sup>1</sup> For the preliminary history common to the Iroquois missions, see *Early Chapters of Cayuga History*, pp. 9-20.

<sup>2</sup> *Relations des Jesuites contenant ce qui s'est passe de plus remarquable dans les missions des Peres de la Compagnie de Jesus dans la Nouvelle France*. Quebec, 1858. The subsequent references to the *Relations* are to this edition unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>3</sup> The Hurons, as a nation, were destroyed by the Iroquois in 1649. This village was composed of the survivors of the missions of St. Michael and St. John in the Huron country. In 1656 the Senecas had two very large villages, Sonnontouan and Gandagan; another important one made up of captive Onnontioagas, Neuters and Hurons called in 1669 Gaudougarae and several smaller villages in all not less than six.

customs and particular habits, live separate from the Iroquois, and content themselves with being one with them in good feeling and friendship. Not having a sufficient number of laborers to cultivate the whole of this extensive field, we confine ourselves to preaching the good tidings to them, having exchanged with them presents of ceremony and alliance. For as soon as Father Chaumonot, on our arrival in the (Iroquois) country, had adopted the Cayugas as children of Onontio<sup>1</sup> he went to Seneca to adopt that people as brothers indeed, after the manner of the Faith to which we would dispose them.

Having assembled the sachems of Gandagan,<sup>2</sup> the principal town of the Senecas, and made the customary presents of alliance, he commenced in an earnest and elevated tone of voice to explain the principal truths of the gospel, which he sealed with three very beautiful presents that he had reserved for the purpose; and to press the matter still farther, "Myself" he said, "I give with these as guarantee of the truths which I preach; and if my life, which I consecrate to you, should seem to you of little account, I offer to you the lives of all the French who have followed me to Gannentaa<sup>3</sup> as a testimony of the Faith which I proclaim to you. Do you not put confidence in these living presents—these noble braves? Can you be so simple as to think that such a courageous band would leave their native country, the most agreeable and beautiful in the world, suffer so great hardships and come so far, to bring you a lie?"

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<sup>1</sup> For an account of this interesting ceremony together with the speech of Saonchiogwa, the distinguished Cayuga orator, on the occasion, see *Early Chapters of Cayuga History*, pp. 15, 16. Onontio was the name by which the French Governor was known to the Iroquois.

<sup>2</sup> See note on Seneca towns, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> The site of the Onondaga Mission of St. Mary. It was also the seat of a French colony of some forty persons who had accompanied the missionaries from Quebec, under command of M. Du Puy, and was situated on the north side of the Onondaga lake, about midway between its two extremities.



The result proved that these barbarians were moved by the discourse of the Father. For after due deliberation over the matter, they answered that they believed what we had the goodness to present to them, and embraced the Faith, and entreated with great earnestness that the Father would live with them, the better to instruct them in our mysteries. There was one more deeply touched than the rest, who would not consent that the Father should depart until he, himself, was instructed and baptized, and he had also obtained for his wife the same happiness. God has blessed the labors of this Father with similar success in the other towns.<sup>1</sup>

Annonkentitaoui, who is the chief of this people, resolved to surpass all others in zeal, and to be himself one of the first to become a Christian. A cancer which had eaten into his thigh, having confined him to the bed, the Father although indisposed, saw him and converted him to the Faith of which he will be a great support in his country, since God seems with this end in view, to have healed him of a disease which all thought to be incurable.

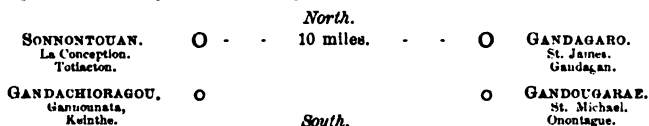
Among the many Hurons who have kept their faith during their captivity, the Father met with a woman who had preserved the zeal of a good Christian, and from whom he learned that the Hurons of the Isle of Orleans, continued in the practice of our religion with all their former devotion: and that one of them named Jacques Otsiaouens, had astonished by his fortitude the Iroquois who burned him, not omitting to repeat at length the usual prayers and invoking without ceasing the name of Jesus during the whole of his torture.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See note on Seneca towns, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> At the dispersion of the Huron nation and with it the missions, a number sought refuge under French protection at Quebec, and after a while were removed to the Isle of Orleans in the vicinity, where a church and a fort were built; and the cultivation of the soil gave the refugees an ample support. Guided by Fathers Leonard Garreau and Chaumonot, two of their surviving pastors in their own country, they are said to have become models of piety and devotion.

The Hurons of St. Michael<sup>1</sup> did not manifest any less signs of piety, being filled with joy at seeing again one of their dear pastors, each asking forthwith absolution for himself or baptism for his children. Even the old men who despised

<sup>1</sup>SENECA TOWNS.—When the Senecas were first known to the whites, and from that time up to the French expedition of Denonville in 1687, they had four principal towns. In 1669 according to Galinée, they were living in five villages, two of which contained a hundred cabins each, the others from twenty to thirty. At this time certainly two, and probably three of the largest were enclosed by palisades. In 1677 when visited by Greenhalgh, an Albany trader, they were occupying four villages, none of which were palisaded. Frequent changes of location with the large towns was a necessity. Abbe Belmont who accompanied Denonville in 1687 says "they change their locations every ten years in order to bring themselves near the woods." This was probably true of the larger villages, but the smaller ones might continue for twenty years or more. During the time of the Jesuit Missions among the Senecas and up to 1687 the four principal villages occupied the relative positions indicated in the following diagram.



Of GANDAGARO it is known certainly that in 1677 and 1687 it was on the great hill known as Boughton Hill, a mile south of the village of Victor in Ontario county. Greenhalgh says it contained one hundred and fifty houses, located on the top of a great hill and was not "stockadoed." In 1669 Galinée describes it as in a large plain about two leagues in circumference, on the edge of a small hill and surrounded with palisades. No indications of a palisaded work of this character have been found, on, or in the vicinity of Boughton Hill. Denonville found some kind of a work, on the hill north of Victor, and some evidences of a minor Indian village have been found there, but the preponderance of evidence, goes to show that Gandagan was south of the great hill on the farm of Mr. Chapin. In this vicinity, in different locations have been found pipes, beads, iron hatchets, brass kettles, numerous skeletons, and all the usual accompaniments of important Indian villages. This Gandagan alias Gandagaro was the "St. James" of the missionaries, the Capital and residence of the chief sachem who presided over the grand councils of the tribe.

GANDOUGARAE, the "St. Michael" of the missionaries, peopled principally by captives from the Huron and other conquered tribes, was located at different dates from one and a half to four miles south of the capital town. A site on the east side of Mud creek on the line between the towns of Canandaigua and East Bloomfield about five miles south-east of Victor, appears to have been one site of this village. Other sites were probably on, or in the vicinity of the Chapin farm, directly south of Boughton Hill.

The two eastern villages after their destruction in 1687 gradually drifted eastward, and were found a hundred years later by Sullivan near present Geneva. In 1720 they were two miles east of the foot of Canandaigua lake; in 1750 on the White Springs farm two miles south-west, and on Burrell's creek, four miles south-west of Geneva; in 1786 at the Old Castle two miles north-west of Geneva.

SONNONTOUAN alias Totiaction, Tegarnhie, the "Conception" of the missionaries was located a mile and a half N. N. W. of Honeye Falls in the town of Mendon,

the light of the Gospel while their land flourished, sought it with great eagerness, asking immediate baptism. How true it is, that affliction giveth understanding, and adversity openeth the eyes of them whom prosperity had blinded. But pleasant as were these fruits of the Gospel, the Father was nevertheless obliged to deprive himself of them, pressing work calling him elsewhere. <sup>1</sup>

On his way (back to Onondaga) he had an excellent opportunity to ridicule a superstition of the infidels, his guide

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Monroe county. It is indicated on Galinée's map as "Father Fremin's village." It was about ten miles directly west of Gandagaro on Boughton Hill, in a bend of Honeoye creek, which at this point sweeps around abruptly to the west, forming a right angle on the east and north sides of the town. A second location and probably the one occupied in 1687 when destroyed by fire, was on the Ball farm, a mile west of Honeoye Falls village. Here, on a space of about twenty acres, a great abundance of relics have been found, of copper, glass and iron; brass crosses, medals and rings, and hundreds of iron hatchets bearing evidence of having passed through fire. This great village was the western door of the Long House and the residence of Tegarohies hence sometimes called Tegarohies town.

GANDACHORAGOU, the western small town, was probably on the site of the present village of Lima, four miles south of the great town when located near Honeoye Falls. The relics found here are abundant, and indicate an important but not a large town.

These western villages after 1687, drifted south and then west, occupying several different locations, and probably reached the Genesee river about 1740. Sullivan found them in 1779 in two villages, one east and one west of the river, and a third small one, near the head of Conesus lake.—J. S. C.

<sup>1</sup> Father PETER MARY JOSEPH CHAUMONOT, or as he is sometimes called CHAUMONOT, was born in 1611, near Chatillon Sur Seine, where his father was a wine dresser. While studying with his uncle, a priest, he was induced by a wicked associate to rob his guardian and go to Baume to finish his studies. Soon disabused, he feared to return, and proceeded on a pilgrimage to Rome. After a variety of adventures, which he has imitabily described, he entered the Society of Jesus, on the 18th of May, 1632, as the son of an advocate. He soon revealed his deceit, and sincerely converted, devoted himself to the study of perfection. While in his theology, Father Poncet, then also a student of Rome, gave him one of Brebeuf's Huron Relations, and he solicited the Canada Mission. His desire was granted; and, after being ordained, he was sent to America. He landed at Quebec on the 1st of August, 1639, with Father Poncet, and with him proceeded immediately to the Huron Territory. Here he remained till 1650, visiting the villages of the Hurons, Petuns and Neutrals. He descended to Quebec with the party who settled on Isle Orleans, and was constantly with them till his death, on the 21st of February, 1693, except from 1655 to 1658, when he was at Onondaga, and a short stay at Montreal. *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States, 1529-1854, by John Gilmary Shea, New York, 1857, note p. 198.* The several sketches of the Jesuit Fathers, which appear in the subsequent pages, are largely derived from this work, with additional facts furnished by Dr. Shea.

having presented a bit of wood to cast upon two round stones which they encountered on the journey, surrounded with the symbols of a superstition of this people who in passing throw a small stick upon these stones in token of their homage, adding the words *Koué! askennon eskatongot*, that is to say: Hold! this is to pay my passage in order that I may proceed with safety.<sup>1</sup>

I cannot omit the death of David Le Moynes which should seem precious in the eyes of good men, as we believe it to have been in the sight of God. He was a young man from Dieppe,<sup>2</sup> aged about thirty years, whose zeal led him to follow the Father in this mission, being disposed by a general confession. A hemorrhage which weakened his body for some time, did not interrupt for a moment his enthusiasm; and he died on the banks of *Lake Tiohero* (Cayuga) with the gentleness and resignation of the elect, blessing God for this, that he was permitted to die in the land of the Iroquois, and in the work of spreading the faith. Is not such a death an ample recompense for a life devoted to the salvation of souls, and a fitting illustration of the protection of the Blessed Vir-

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<sup>1</sup> On his return to Onondaga, Chaumonot was immediately sent with Father Menard the founder of the Cayuga mission, to the Oneidas to open friendly relations with that most obstinate of the Iroquois tribes. While on their way, and the first night they spent in the woods, a chief in the company thus addressed the Fathers: "Ah, my brothers, you are weary. What trouble you have to walk on the snow, on ice and in the water! But courage! Let us not complain of the toil since we undertake it for so noble a cause. Ye demons who inhabit the woods, beware of injuring any of those who compose this embassy. And you trees laden with years, whom old age must soon level to the earth suspend your fall; envelop not in your ruin those who go to prevent the ruin of provinces and nations." *Relation* 1657. Chap. xviii. p. 46. This is similar, both in sentiment and imagery, to the opening sentences of the preliminary ceremony of the Iroquois "Condoling Council," which was convened to mourn a deceased councilor of the League, and install his successor. See *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, edited by Horatio Hale, M. A., Philadelphia, 1883; pp. 117-119.

<sup>2</sup> A seaport town of France, at the mouth of the river Arques, and takes its name from "diep" an inlet, a place of considerable importance as early as the 12th century. During the Franco-German war it was occupied by the Germans from December 1870 to July 1871.

gin toward whom this young man manifested a devotion that was most remarkable?

The central mission at Onondaga was broken up the following year (1657), on the discovery of a conspiracy involving the massacre of the French colony located at Ganentaa and the death of the missionaries. The circumstances attending the timely disclosure of the treacherous plot and the manner of their escape, were fully narrated in the history of the Cayuga Mission.<sup>1</sup> Suffice it to say here, that a war followed between the French and the Iroquois which raged for two years, when negotiations for peace were concluded at Montreal, accompanied by the request from the Iroquois embassy that the several missions might be re-established. For this purpose, and not without misgivings on the part of the French for his personal safety, Father Simon Le Moyne, when on a visit to Onondaga in 1653, opened the way for the first missions, returned with the embassy, and arrived at the Iroquois capital the 12th of August, 1660. He made a brief visit to the Mohawks who had taken no part in the overtures for peace, and maintained an implacable hostility to the French, but without success, and barely escaped with his life from the scene of his earlier labors. He spent the autumn and winter in missionary work, largely among the Onondagas. A notice of it occurs in the *Relation* of 1662, as follows:

“Behold here a mission of blood and fire, of labors and of tears, of captives and of barbarians. It is a country where the earth is still red with the blood of the French, where the stakes yet stand covered with their ashes; where those who have survived their cruelty, bear its fatal marks on their feet and hands, their toes cut off and their finger nails torn out, and where in fine Father Simon Le Moyne has been for a year to soothe the sighs of this afflicted church, and to take

<sup>1</sup> *Early Chapters of Cayuga History*, pp. 29, 30.

part like a good pastor in all the misfortunes of his dear flock.

“He was chiefly occupied during the winter with three churches, one French, one Huron and one Iroquois. He preserved the piety among the French captives, and became himself the sole depository of all their afflictions; he re-established the Huron church, formerly so flourishing in their own country; he laid the foundation of the Iroquois church, going from place to place to baptize the children and the dying, and to instruct those who, in the midst of barbarism, were not far from the kingdom of God.

“A little chapel formed of branches and bark was the sanctuary where God received every day the adoration of those who composed these three churches. Here the French assembled each morning, half an hour before daylight, to assist at the august sacrifice of the mass; and every evening to recite in common the rosary; and often too, during the day to seek consolation from God in their misfortunes, joining their mangled hands and lifting them to Heaven, they prayed for those who had thus mutilated them.”<sup>1</sup>

Owing to the continued hostilities of the Mohawks, it was not until 1668, that the missions were renewed, when all the cantons once more welcomed the missionary Fathers.

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<sup>1</sup> For an account of Le Moyne's visit to Cayuga, see *Early Chapters of Cayuga History*, p. 25.




### III.

The mission among the Senecas was resumed in 1668, by Father James Fremin, who was in Onondaga in 1657, at the breaking up of the Iroquois missions, as referred to in the previous number. His narrative occupies Chapter IX of the *Relation* 1670, and is as follows :

#### THE MISSION OF ST. MICHAEL, OF TSONNONTOUAN.

Our Iroquois missions made in the year 1669 very gratifying progress. We then began to preach the Gospel at Tsonnontouän, (Seneca), where there is a greater number of people than in the other four cantons of the lower Iroquois. When I arrived here at the close of the year 1668, I was well received ; but a fatal form of sickness breaking out at the time, desolated the entire region, so that I was wholly occupied in visiting the cabins to instruct and baptize the sick, who were in extremity. It pleased God to bless my humble labors, so that in a short time, I baptized more than one hundred and twenty persons, nearly all adults, of whom more than ninety died soon after baptism. But as I was alone and could not leave the field, more than one hundred and fifty died (without baptism) in districts far removed from here, while engaged in fishing or hunting. A necessity so pressing impelled me to ask for assistance and beg Father Garnier, who was at Onondaga, to come to my aid at the earliest moment. But by the time of his arrival the contagion had ceased. Thus being relieved from exclusive occupation with the sick we began to proclaim the Gospel to the people who



had never heard the name of Jesus Christ; and in order to do this with the greater success in different directions, Father Garnier took charge of the town named Gandachiragou,<sup>1</sup> where in a short time he built a very commodious chapel to which they flock from all sides for instruction.

As for myself, on the 27th of Sept. 1669, I entered the town called Gandougarac,<sup>2</sup> and was received with every demonstration of public joy. They had for some time awaited with impatience my coming. The town is composed of the remnants of three different nations which having been subdued by the Iroquois, were forced to submit at the discretion of their conquerors and to establish themselves in their territory. The first nation is called Onnontioga; the second the Neuter and the third the Huron.<sup>3</sup> The first two have seldom if ever seen Europeans, neither have they heard mention of the true God. As for the third, they are a collection from many Huron villages, all of whom have been instructed in the Faith, and many of whom had already been

<sup>1</sup> See Seneca Towns, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> This was after the subjugation of the Hurons, Neuters and Eries and previous to that of Gandastogues; whence the inference that the Onnontogas were a tribe of the Eries whose towns seem never to have been visited by the French. "The territory of the Iroquois," says Mr. Hale (*Iroquois Book of Rites* pp. 82, 83.) "constantly extending, as their united strength made itself felt, became the 'Great Asylum' of the Indian tribes. Of the conquered Eries and Hurons many hundreds were received and adopted by their conquerors. The Tuscaroras, expelled by the English from North Carolina, took refuge with the Iroquois and became the sixth nation of the League. From still further south the Tuteloes and Saponies of Dakota stock, after many wars with the Iroquois, fled to them from their other enemies and found a cordial welcome. A chief still sits in the council as a representative of the Tuteloes, though the tribe itself has been swept away by disease or absorbed in the larger nations. Many fragments of tribes of Algonkin lineage—Delawares, Mohegans, Misisagias—sought the same hospitable protection, which never failed them." Again (*Ibid* pp. 95, 96.): "Those who suppose that the Hurons only survive in a few Wyandots, and that the Eries, Attiwandaronks and Andastes have utterly perished are greatly mistaken. It is absolutely certain that of the twelve thousand Indians who, now in the United States and Canada, preserve the Iroquois name, the greater portion derive their descent, in whole or in part, from those conquered nations. No other Indian community, so far as we know, has pursued this policy of incorporation to anything near the same extent or carried it out with anything like the same humanity."



baptized by our Fathers before that flourishing nation was destroyed by the arms of the Iroquois. <sup>1</sup>

While they were building me a chapel, I began visiting the cabins in order to know the people, and chiefly to seek out the scattered sheep of the ancient church of the Hurons, and endeavor to lead them back to the fold of Jesus Christ. These good people were overjoyed to see me and hear me speak of the Faith. It was not possible to satisfy their desire in this regard. Some of them said to me that it was not enough to pray to God but once a day. Others complained that I spent too little time in preaching of our Lord and Paradise. Some of them even reproached me with partiality in that I had preferred others to them, as I did not visit them as much as I did the others. Indeed these poor souls were so hungry and thirsty for righteousness and their salvation, that I had difficulty in persuading them that as soon as the chapel should be finished, their good desires would be completely satisfied.

My round of visits being finished, I found about forty adult Christians who had preserved faith and prayer, been kept from the general dissoluteness of the country and were living in all the purity of Christianity. All the rest of the Hurons gave proof of great eagerness for holy baptism; and I have remarked in them an assiduity so exact and such constancy in prayer, public and private, that I have great hope that they all will become devoted Christians. Shall not such fidelity and constancy in the Faith in these invincible Hurons serve in the day of judgment to condemn the indolence and corruption of the Christians of Europe? These barbarians, who had just started into Christianity when the Iroquois compelled them by force of arms to take part with them, have nevertheless preserved for this long time their

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<sup>1</sup> In 1649.

faith in the midst of the corruption of a people abandoned to all sorts of vice and superstition ; and scarcely were they imbued with the principles of the Christian religion, when they were transported into the very home of disorder and abominations, destitute at the same time of pastors, having neither preachers to fortify them in the Faith, nor confessors to reconcile them with God, nor any of the external means with which Europe is so amply provided. Thus to live with fidelity, in prayers and innocence of manners, and with an ardor for their salvation equal to that of the first Christians, is it not something that ought one day to put to shame the weakness and unfaithfulness of so many Catholics who corrupt and destroy themselves, in the possession of all the means of piety and salvation ?

As for the Onnontiogas, Tsonnontoians (Senecas) and Neuters since they have scarcely ever seen Europeans or heard of the Faith, it is a work to absorb all the zeal of the missionary, who will find it no small labor to cultivate a field the Evil One has possessed for so many ages. The chapel being finished, the Hurons came to pray to God with great fervor. I said the holy mass to them, and they assisted with a reverence and devotion which charmed me, and was pleasing in the sight of Heaven. A venerable person served me as catechist, and as he knew the prayers well, he pronounced them with an elevated and distinct voice, easily understood and followed by all the others ; and this zeal of the Hurons extended even to their children. These little savages were eager to persuade those of the other nations to accompany them to the chapel and pray with them. This compelled their fathers and mothers to come and see what they were doing, and, in some cases, to follow their example, to avoid the shame of being outdone by them.

What I have most admired in those Hurons who have for many years been Christians, is the open profession which

they are accustomed to make of their faith, which is more difficult than one can well imagine, among a people wholly infidel and barbarous, without blushing for the gospel, nor caring for the insults and ridicule of the pagans; and so well convinced were the other nations of their constancy in the Faith, that they give them no other name than that of Believers, and The Faithful; and such is the reputation two of them have acquired in the entire region for virtue, that all the people revere them.

One of these bears the name of James Atondo and the other Francis Teoronhiongo. The first gives himself almost continually to prayer, and in his ordinary conversation speaks only of God, alike to Christians and infidels. He is very exact in his observance of all the commandments of God. "If you but knew," he is wont to say to them "what prayer is and the power it has to make us happy, you would all pray to God without ceasing. You are so careful in doing all that your dreams require; you spare neither feasts nor presents, nor any expense to render them propitious and secure through them good success in fishing, in hunting, and in war, and a long life as well; but nevertheless you see plainly that you are involved in poverty and misery; that sickness and the enemy are every day taking many of you out of the world. As for myself, I pray to the Master of Heaven and earth, and the Sovereign Lord of our lives, and He gives me strong and vigorous health at an age very advanced. I catch ordinarily more fish than you; I am, by His grace, better off than you are, and what overwhelms me with joy is, that when I come to die, I hope to be happy to all eternity; and as for you others, you will only exchange the evils of this wretched life for torments and eternal fires."

The second named Francis Teoronhiongo who was formerly the host of the late Father Le Moyne,<sup>1</sup> is an old man of ap-

<sup>1</sup> See account in *Relation 1662*, p. 8.

proved faith, and has not passed a single day in twenty-seven years without saying prayers. He has instructed his wife and children in the Faith and reared his entire family in holiness. Now that he is intelligent in our mysteries and as he is familiar with the history of the New Testament, his greatest pleasure is in discoursing about it to all he meets, both Christian and heathen, so that if the gospel had never been published in this country by the missionaries, he alone had spoken enough of it to justify the ways of God concerning human salvation.

He has said to me many times, that during the twenty years he has been separated from our Fathers, he scarcely passed a day without earnestly beseeching our Lord the grace that he should not die before being confessed and without having previously prayed to God with some one of the missionaries. "Ah my God," he said, "Thou hast shown so great indulgence for me; Thou hast already granted me so many favors, wilt Thou refuse me this that I now ask? Shall I be so unhappy as to die without being confessed? Hast Thou called me to Christianity, only to leave me to finish my life without participating in its holy mysteries? The frailty of man is so great and his nature so inclined to sin, that I have strong reason to tremble as guilty before Thee, and deserving death eternal. And what will it avail me to have been baptized, to have prayed to Thee, if I am to be so wretched as to be finally damned? No, no, my God, I hope for this favor of Thy mercy. Thou art all powerful: and when Thou dost will it, our Fathers will come to instruct us, and I trust in Thy pity, that I will not end my life without the benefit of receiving the sacraments." I doubt not that prayers so sacred may have contributed much to the establishment of this mission. On learning of my arrival, the first thing he said to me was, "At last God has heard me. Confess me."

At another time when conversing with him of his deceased parents, he said: "Why should I regret them? My mother died immediately after receiving baptism. Almost all my near relatives have yielded their souls into the hands of the Fathers who have made them Christians. They are all happy in Paradise. I hope soon to go and find them. The greatest unhappiness I have had in my life," he added with a sigh, "is that one of my children died some years since, without being able to confess his sins. He was thirty years old. He had lived badly, and though I had taken pains to make him a good man, he despised equally the law of God and the warning of his father; and what afflicts me sorely is that he died in this sad condition, without the opportunity of being reconciled with God by confession. I have only one child in the world, and he is at present out to war. If God dispose of him, I shall have but little trouble in consoling myself, since thou did'st confess him just before he went away." This goes to show what ideas our savages have of Paradise while as yet they are not fully instructed in our mysteries.

I baptized the past year a young woman of the more distinguished of Seneca, who died the day after her baptism. The mother was inconsolable at her loss, since our savages show extraordinary affection for their children; and as I was endeavoring to calm her grief by representing the infinite happiness her daughter was enjoying in Heaven, she artlessly said:

"Thou dost not understand. She was a mistress here, and had at her command more than twenty slaves who are still with me. She never knew what it was to go to the forest to bring wood or to the river to draw water.<sup>1</sup> She knows

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<sup>1</sup> This probably had reference to the village Totiacton north-west of Honeoye Falls where the river was not far distant from the town. This was eight years previous to Greenhalgh's visit in 1677. While residing on the site south-west of the falls they probably obtained water from the small brook flowing west of the village.—J. S. C.

nothing about house-keeping. Now, I have no doubt that being for the present the only one of our family in Paradise, she will have much trouble to accustom herself to the change, for she will be compelled to do her own cooking, go for wood and water and provide with her own hands what she needs to eat and drink. In truth, is she not to be pitied in having no person who is able to serve her in that place? Thou seest here one of my slaves who is sick. I pray thee instruct her fully and show her the path to Heaven, that she by no means miss the way, but that she may go and lodge with my daughter and relieve her of all the affairs of her household."

I took advantage of the occasion and of the simplicity of this woman, to instruct the sick slave. I spoke to her; I found her disposed to listen to me; I exhorted her; I instructed her; she opened her eyes to the truth and desired of me baptism, which I could not refuse, thinking her in immediate danger of death. But God determined otherwise, for in time her health was restored; and now she conducts herself in all respects as a worthy Christian.

After a while, as I sought to instruct the mistress—she having gradually given up her low and gross notions of Paradise—to enable her to form a more correct and worthy idea of supreme happiness, she assured me that there was nothing in the world she was not willing to do to reach the place; that she was resolved to go and join her daughter, to dwell with her in the same blessed sojourn; after which she remained faithful in prayer and assiduous in the means of instruction. She manifested the same zeal in having all her slaves instructed how to pray to God; and it may be said that through her alone, there were won to God more than twenty persons.

During the six months since I came here, I have baptized twenty or twenty-five savages. There are besides, ten or

twelve adults who are prepared to receive that sacrament.

Owing to the unusually abundant harvest of walnuts this year, the joy of the people is so great, that one sees scarcely anything but games, dances and feasts which they carry even to debauch, although they have no other seasoning than the oil.<sup>1</sup> But what consoles me in all these disorders is, that only two of our Christians have lacked the courage to resist the solicitations of the sorcerer, to make a certain superstitious banquet in which all who join the dance, throw hot ashes on the sick, thinking this to be a sovereign remedy for the disease.

The Iroquois, strictly speaking, have but a single Divinity and that the Dream. They render it absolute submission, and follow all its demands with scrupulous exactness. The Senecas are much more devoted than the others. Their religion, in this regard, goes to the last scruple, since whatever they suppose is told them in the dream, they hold themselves absolutely bound to execute as speedily as possible. The other nations content themselves with observing the more important dreams; but this people who are looked upon as living more religiously than their neighbors, think themselves guilty of a great sin if they disregard even one.

They think of nothing else; they talk of nothing else; all their cabins are full of their dreams. They spare no labor

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<sup>1</sup> "They parch their nuts and acorns over the fire to take away their rank oiliness, which afterwards pressed, yield a milky liquor, and the acorns an amber-colored oil. In these mingled together, they dip their cakes at great entertainments, and so serve them up to their guests as an extraordinary dainty." Lederer's Discoveries, 1669-70, p. 21. "BUTTERNUT.—The kernel is thick and oily and soon becomes rancid; hence, doubtless, are derived the names of Butternut and Oilnut. These nuts are rarely seen in the markets of New York and Philadelphia. The Indians who inhabited these regions, pounded and boiled them, and separating the oily substance which swam upon the surface, mixed it with their food." North American Sylva, translated from the French of F. ANDREW MICHAUX—Paris, 1819. Vol. 1, p. 163. "SHELL-BARK HICKORY.—The Indians who inhabit the shores of Lake Erie and Lake Michigan, lay up a store of these nuts for the winter, a part of which they pound in wooden mortars, and boiling the paste in water, collect the oily matter which swims upon the surface, to season their aliments." Ib. p. 185.—J. S. C.

or pains to manifest their devotion, and their folly on this subject goes to the last measure of excess imaginable. One dreams during the night that he has bathed himself; upon which he rises immediately, wholly naked, goes to a number of cabins, at each of which he makes the inmates throw over his body a kettle full of water, however cold it may be. Another who dreamed that he was taken captive or burned alive, caused himself to be bound the following day, after the manner of a prisoner to be burned, persuading himself that having in this way satisfied his dream, his fidelity would avert from him the pain and infamy of captivity or death, which otherwise it had been revealed by his divinity he should suffer among his enemies.

There are some who have been as far as Quebec, and traveled one hundred and fifty leagues to have a dog which they had dreamed they could purchase there. It is easy from this to judge in what peril we are every day among a people who would tomahawk us in cold blood, if they dreamed they ought to do this. Since it is a little thing that gives offence to a savage, it is easy for his imagination once excited, to represent to him in a dream that he should take vengeance on him who had caused the offence. We appear to ourselves as victims liable to be taken any moment to torture; and since one is made to die a hundred times by the ever present image of death, we esteem ourselves happy in approaching so near to martyrdom.

The infidel women, by inclination natural to the sex, are the more devoted in observing their dreams, and following the commands of this idol. It is true that the worship which this people render, would rather pass for a superstition than a form of idolatry, as they neither pay adoration to the dream nor offer it any sacrifice. They are confident from a certain infallible experience, that whatever they dream and fail to execute, it always comes back to them in some misfortune,



mysteriously expressed in the dream. I have remarked at the same time, that the greater part of these savages are at less pains to obey their dreams while in health, but the moment they have the slightest ailment, they are persuaded that there is no such sovereign remedy for their healing, and to save their life, as to do all they have dreamed. The sorcerers, who are the same as priests of their divinity, contribute not a little to establish them in this superstition, since they are always called in to explain the dream; and, since they know admirably well how to turn it to their profit, they live and enrich themselves of this poor people, who, so soon as they are sick, spare nothing in doing whatever the sorcerer declares the dream ordains.<sup>1</sup>

This is the greatest obstacle to the spread of the Faith among these people; and it is not too much to say that it is the one stumbling block to the Christian; since as to drunk-

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<sup>1</sup> Father de Carhiel, who, when among the Cayugas, gave this subject of dreams particular attention, and seems to have been more than usually successful in convincing the Indian mind of the absurdity of yielding them implicit obedience, writes: "I have earnestly combated their superstitions, particularly the divine authority they attribute to dreams, which may be said to be the foundation of all their errors, as it is the soul of their religion. I have nevertheless recognized two things in my efforts to combat it: First, that it is not properly the dream that they worship as the master of their life, but a certain one of the genii they call Agtkouchoria, who they believe speak to them in sleep and command them to obey implicitly their dreams. The principal one of these spirits is Taronhiaouagon (Upholder of the heavens) whom they recognize as a divinity and obey as the supreme master of their life; and when they speak of a dream as divine, they only mean, that it is through it they know the will of God and what is necessary for the preservation of their life: and furthermore that the actual doing of the things they had seen in a dream, contributes to promote their health and happiness. They also, sometimes give the name of the master of their life to the object of their dreams, as for example to the skin of a bear or to similar things which they have seen in their sleep; and because they regard them as charms to which God has attached the good fortune of a long life. Thus they take special care to preserve them with this view, and when they are sick cover themselves with them or place them near their persons as a defense against the attacks of disease. The second thing I have recognized in combating the obedience they render to their dreams, is that they are not able to understand how the soul acts during sleep, in thus representing to them objects distant and absent, as if near and present. They persuade themselves that the soul quits the body during sleep, and that it goes of itself in search of the things dreamed and to the places where they see them; and it returns into the body toward the end of the night, when all dreams are dissipated." See *Early Chapters of Cayuga History*, pp. 51, 55.

eness, strongly as they are addicted to it, nevertheless, the women and old men do not abandon themselves to excess. One is thus enabled to hope that their example and the zeal of the missionaries, may moderate the deportment of the young warriors who breathe only for blood and brandy.

For the overthrow of this superstition of the dream, I have found no method more efficacious, than to make them see clearly and by way of inference, that the faithfulness of any number of people whom they know to have carried out the observance of their dreams, has neither saved them from death or captivity, nor from destruction itself of their entire nation. This consideration has served me, in this country, to undeceive and open the eyes of many, thus leading them to detest the whole thing, both the superstition of the dream and the bad faith of the sorcerer.

Nevertheless, in general, we may say, that there is nothing more efficacious to attract the Iroquois to the Faith, than to subdue their pride by the might of arms; and by as much as they fear those of the French, will they lessen the obstacles to their conversion.

God has his elect not only among the Iroquois where he has his missionaries, but he permits them to go forth carrying war to regions most distant, and bring back captives to introduce them into the sacred liberty of the children of God and thence to Paradise, from the prisons and fires of the Iroquois. Thus we are led to adore from day to day the hidden and mysterious ways of Divine Providence toward his elect.

Two captives of the Gandastogué having been brought here to be burned, according to the custom, the first being so well instructed and giving all the marks of a saintly disposition to receive baptism, I conferred it, and after fifteen hours of terrible torture which he endured with true Christian resignation, he left the earth to go to Heaven. The other at the first, was unwilling to listen to me, and having

repelled me many times, I was at length compelled to leave him, that at his leisure he might reflect on what I said to him of heaven and hell; but in a short time he called me to him of his own accord, saying that it was all good, and that he wished to obey God and be saved. I baptized him on giving him the necessary instruction, after which it was manifest that faith was truly wrought in his heart. He was taken immediately to the place of torture, and from the happy moment of his conversion to his latest breath, he sang all the time, with a courage invincible—"Burn my body to your heart's content; tear it in pieces; this torture will soon be over, after which I go to heaven; I go to heaven there to be eternally happy." He pronounced these words with such faith and so great fervor, that one of our good Christians who witnessed the burning, and who did not know that I had instructed and baptized him, said to those standing by: "This captive has truly the Faith; it must certainly be that he has been instructed by some one of our Fathers, who is at Gandastogué."

Thus it is that God gathers his elect from all parts of the world. A woman who had been taken prisoner from a country far distant, some days after her arrival here, was seized with a dangerous malady. I repaired immediately to the cabin where she was, to endeavor to instruct her; but she could not understand me, as I was ignorant of the language of her country, and it was not possible to find any one to act as interpreter. I saw nevertheless that she was rapidly sinking, and that she was about to enter the final agony. From that moment my heart was cut with grief at seeing the loss of a poor soul which God had brought to the very threshold of Paradise. Leaving the cabin, wholly penetrated with affection and sorrow, I took myself to prayer and commended to God the salvation of this soul with all the fervor of which I was capable; I employed at this same point the merit of the

Holy Virgin of all the saints. At last, having for a long time invoked the compassion of our Lord in behalf of this woman, I was strongly inclined to return to her cabin and recommit her to her good Angel.

Scarcely had I done the one and the other, when I saw enter two women whom I did not know, and who were not of the town where I reside; the one and then the other approached near the sick one and giving her many caresses, assured her that they were come to console her and that they would by no means leave her. A meeting so happy, so unlooked for, greatly surprised me, since I could not but think that this meant that God had sent two Angels from Heaven to instruct and baptize this poor woman. I then asked if they were willing to serve me as interpreters, to procure for the sick person, about to expire, eternal happiness. They both offered themselves to render this good office. I explained to her the mysteries of our Faith; they repeated all my words in her language, with plainness and also such unction as enlightened the spirit of the sick one and at the same time touched her heart. I was delighted with the zeal and fervor with which each of these good catechists labored for the instruction of this foreigner. They exhorted her and pressed her to quickly open her eyes to the truth, since she had but a very short time to live.

They pointed her to the open heaven ready to receive her. Not content with faithfully interpreting my words, they added, themselves, motives and reasons, which at last compelled this poor woman, who was scarcely able to speak, to make a final effort for her salvation. She then caused me to approach her bed and gave me to perceive that God Himself had instructed her, and that He had in this short time wrought in her great things. I baptized her as quickly as possible, seeing her so well disposed, and in some moments after, she expired to go and possess in heaven eternal glory.

Is not this a miracle of the grace of God? And should we not be thrice happy that He is so willing to serve Himself of us, as the instrument of His mercy?

#### IV.

The conclusion of Father Fremin's narrative, discloses some of the more serious obstacles encountered by the missionaries in their work, and at the same time gives a vivid picture of Iroquois life and manners more than two centuries ago. The brief reference to the Cayuga mission, recalls the labors of the devoted and gentle Menard, its founder in 1657, who, four years after, lost his life among the forests which bordered Lake Superior, while on his way to plant the cross among the savage tribes of that distant region, as he was among the first to do on the banks of our own Cayuga.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Father RENE MENARD, who was born in 1604, had been in France confessor to Madame Dallebout, one of the founders of Montreal; but of his previous history we know nothing. He came to Canada in the *Esperance*, which sailed from Dieppe on the 28th of March, 1640, and, after being compelled to put back by storms, reached Quebec in July. After being director of the Ursulines, he was sent to the Huron country, and succeeded Raymbaut as missionary of the Algonquins, Nipissings, and Atontratas. On the fall of the Hurons he was stationed at Three Rivers until May 1656, when he accompanied the French expedition to Onondaga, and from thence accompanied Chaumonot to the Cayugas in August of the same year. He remained for two months, when he was recalled to Onondaga, but soon after returned and remained until the missions were broken up in 1657; after which he returned to Three Rivers, and remained there until he was chosen in August 1660 to succeed Garreau in an attempt to begin missions among the Western Algonquin tribes. He set out with a flotilla of Indians and after great suffering reached Lake Superior and founded the mission of St. Teresa among the Ottawas at Keweenaw Bay, Oct. 15. He labored here during the winter and was planning a mission among the Dakotas, when his services were urgently solicited by a band of Hurons then at the source of the Black river, a branch of the Mississippi. He set out for their village in July 1661, and perished of famine or by an Indian hand, near the source of the Wisconsin in Lake Vieux Desert in the early part of August 1661. For the place of his death, which has been much debated, we adopt the theory of Rev. E. Jacker, who to a close study of the data, adds a personal knowledge of Indian life and their trials in Wisconsin and Michigan.

The narrative of Father Fremin (chap. IX. *Relation*, 1670) is concluded as follows :

Before finishing this *Relation* concerning our Iroquois missions, I will give here in the form of a journal, what remains to be said of the condition in which they are at present, and of what has occurred this year.

As there were no more sick in Tsonnontouïan, I started on a journey to Onondaga, where the missionaries of this country meet to confer together on the methods of laboring more efficiently for the salvation of these people, and of overcoming the numerous obstacles in the way of their conversion.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It so occurred that during the absence of Father Fremin at the missionary council held in Onondaga, La Salle, in company with two priests of the Sulpitian order, M. Doller de Casson and René de Biéhan de Galinée, visited the Senecas in furtherance of his first expedition to prosecute his discoveries toward the Mississippi. The party landed at Irondequoit Bay, the nearest point by water to the principal village of Sonnontouan, distant about twenty miles, the tenth of August, the very day that Father Fremin arrived at Cayuga on his way to Onondaga, and some five or six days after he had left the Seneca village. La Salle and his companions were escorted from the landing place by a large company of Indians to the village, where they arrived on the twelfth of August, and which is described in the journal of the expedition "as a collection of cabins surrounded with palisades twelve or thirteen feet high, bound together at the top and supported at the base, behind the palisades, by large masses of wood of the height of a man. The curtains are not otherwise flanked but form a simple enclosure, perfectly square, so that these forts are not any protection." At the council held the next day, the servant of Father Fremin acted as interpreter, and presents were exchanged. La Salle requested that a captive from the country of the Toagenhas (probably the Ontouagannha also called Mascoutins, nation of the Prairie, and Nation of Fire, at this time located in the southern part of present Wisconsin, between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi) might be given him as a guide to conduct the expedition to that people. This they promised to do as soon as the young men, who were away trading with the Dutch to whom they carried all their captives, should return, which would probably be in ten or twelve days. In the meanwhile a quantity of Dutch brandy was brought to the village, followed, as usual by a drunken debauch, in which La Salle and his associates were threatened with death; and a Toagenha captive whom they desired for a guide, was put to the most cruel torture of six hours' duration, when his body was cut to pieces and prepared for the feast. Thus the visit of La Salle to the Senecas resulted in disappointment, and by the detention he lost the most favorable season for traveling. The expedition reached no farther than the mouth of Grand river on the northern side of Lake Erie. There they were overtaken by the winter and made their camp in the neighboring woods, where they remained until the following spring, when De Casson and Galinée went west, La Salle having returned to Montreal the previous autumn.

It has been alleged that Father Fremin left Tsonnontouan for Onondaga at this particular time, to avoid acting as interpreter to La Salle and the Sulpitians, or aiding the

The 10th of August, 1669, I had the happiness to embrace Father de Carheil at Oiogoüen (Cayuga), from whence I wrote to the others of our Fathers, who are among the Iroquois, to assemble at Onondaga the last of the month, where we would meet them. I had the leisure in the meanwhile, to tarry some days at this mission, where I was witness of the faith and courage of the earlier Christians whom the late Father Menard had, himself, baptized; many even of the infidels themselves, had not forgotten the prayers which he had taught them. Indeed all in this recent church, gave me very great consolation and strong hope of the conversion of the entire country. Father de Carheil is greatly beloved. No one opposes the Faith. Many of the sachems come to pray to God in his little chapel. He has undertaken another, which is to be much larger and more commodious, and which will be completed in a couple of months. I think that then they will come in great numbers to worship God. It is René,

object of their enterprise. But there is no evidence that he was notified of their coming, much less that his assistance was desired. Indeed the narrative of Gallinée would seem to dispose of the whole story as an after thought. Speaking of the council held on their arrival at the Seneca town, he says: "When we saw the assembly large enough we began to talk of business, and then it was that Mr. de la Salle avowed that he was not able to make himself understood." The inference here is that, his Sulpitian companions had been led to suppose La Salle capable of conversing with the Senecas, and only when it came to the point, was it discovered that he could not. But more than this. The narrative continues: "On the other hand, my interpreter saw that he did not know French well enough to make himself well understood by us, hence we deemed it more expedient to make use of Father Fremin's man to make our speech and to report to us what the Indians might say; and in fact the matter was so transacted. It is to be remarked that Father Fremin was not then at his mission station, but had gone a few days before to Onondaga to attend a meeting to be held of all the missionaries scattered among the Five Iroquois nations. There was only Father Fremin's man there who served as an interpreter." It appears then, that Dollier de Casson had an interpreter also, who broke down, and that then they applied to Father Fremin's man, a donne or mission aid, who actually did all they required.

There is no hint in the whole narrative of dissatisfaction with Fremin's man, or of any reluctance on his part to serve them. In fact, the impression from the whole is, that they came prepared, entirely independent of the missionary, but when La Salle and Dollier de Casson's interpreter, both admitted their inability, they were thankful to obtain the services of Fremin's man. Parkman, in his *La Salle, &c.* (1880) p. 14, compared with his *Discovery of the Great West* (1869) p. 13, completely rejects the charge of La Salle against the Jesuits.



his associate, who is both the architect and builder. It will in no respect resemble the cabins of the savages, except in its covering of bark. In all other particulars it will resemble a house such as they build in France. Behind the altar he has contrived to make a small room. Every one in the whole town speaks of the skill of René. He dispenses various medicines which he prepares, himself, on the spot; he dresses all kinds of wounds and heals them; he treats all the sick. Many Cayugas said to me, that but for him they would have died. One cannot believe to what extent he is loved by these savages. Would that it might please God that each of our missions had a man like him!

The 20th of August, Father de Carheil<sup>1</sup> and myself, ar-

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<sup>1</sup>Father STEPHEN DE CARHEIL was born at Vienne, November 30, 1638. He entered the Society of Jesus, August 30, 1653, and arrived in Canada, August 6, 1666. He was sent to the Cayuga Mission in 1668, where he remained until 1694, at the breaking up of the Iroquois Mission, when he was driven from the canton by Orehauoué and Saranoé, the two principal chiefs of the tribe. He then became connected with the Ottawa Mission, where he labored until early in the next century. Charlevoix, who saw him in 1721, at the age of 88, describes him as then "full of vigor and vivacity." He had sacrificed the greatest talents which can do honor to a man of his profession, and in hopes of a fate like that of many of his brethren, who had bedewed Canada with their blood, he had employed a kind of violence with his superiors to obtain a mission whose obscurity sheltered him from all ambition, and offered him only crosses. There he labored untiringly for more than sixty years. He spoke Huron and Iroquois with as much ease and elegance as his native tongue, and wrote treatises in both these languages. French and Indians concurred in regarding him as a saint and genius of the highest order. It was through the influence of de Carheil that the famous Huron Chief, Kondiaront, commonly known as "The Rat," was converted to Christianity, and who, (himself an extraordinary man,) was accustomed to say that there were but two Frenchmen of talent in all Canada, the Count de Frontenac and Father de Carheil. The Indian name of this Father was Aondechete. He early impressed the Cayugas with his courage by acting as a sentinel on a certain occasion when a rumor that a party of Andastes, their most dreaded enemies, were near at hand, had filled the town with alarm, and when he accompanied their warriors to repel the expected attack. In 1702, and while stationed at Michillmacinac, he bore a prominent part in what is known as "The Brandy Quarrel," in resisting with his personal influence and the power of the pen, what he styles (in his letter to the French Intendant; "the deplorable and infamous traffic in brandy," which he declares has been fruitful only "of disorders, brutality, violence, scorn and insult," among the Indians, till it had become impossible to maintain the missions, and nothing remained "but to abandon them to brandy sellers as a domain of drunkenness and debauchery." Father de Carheil died at Quebec in July, 1726, at the advanced age of 88 years. For a more extended sketch of this accomplished missionary, see *Early Chapters of Cayuga History*, pp. 78-81.

rived at Onondaga, where in waiting for Father Bruyas who is at Oneida, and Father Pierron who is at Mohawk, I had time to consider the affairs of our early mission; and all appeared in the same state it was when we left it, in the year 1658, except that the Onondagas were greatly humiliated shortly after by the Gandastogué, as nearly all their braves had been slain in the war. They spoke to us with great gentleness, and in all respects were more tractable than before. There is a church of early Christians, which numbers about forty who live becomingly. Many present themselves for instruction. Garacontie is our true friend. That Prince and Orator visited me with all the courtesy imaginable and did for us many kindnesses.

The 26th of August, Father Bruyas<sup>1</sup> and Pierron arrived, and we had the consolation of seeing our entire number (six)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Father JAMES BRUYAS, was a native of Lyons, arrived at Quebec, August 3d, 1666 and on the 14th of July, of the following year, set out for the Mohawk country and thence in September for Oneida. Having been appointed chief of all the Iroquois missions, in 1671 he returned to the Mohawks. He was among the Senecas in 1673, but returned to the Mohawks and remained there until succeeded by Father Francis Vaillant at Tionnontoguen, in 1679. In 1684 he was in charge of the mission at the Sault St. Louis, on the St. Lawrence, and in 1687 accompanied the French expedition against the Senecas under Denonville. He was again at the Sault in 1691, and in 1693 became superior of his order in Canada and retained this position until 1700. In 1699 the Onondagas being desirous to conclude a peace, visited Montreal and invited Father Bruyas, to return as Ambassador with them, but their request was refused until they would conclude a treaty at Montreal, and in the fall of that year he was sent with Major La Valliere with the king's letter announcing the termination of hostilities between England and France, (*La Potherie*, IV. 131.) In the summer of 1700 the Iroquois renewed their request and Father Bruyas proceeded to Onondaga (*La Potherie*, IV. 148.) where he arrived in August and returned the month following with a delegation that concluded a final peace between the French and Five Nations which lasted for more than 50 years. He visited Onondaga again in July 1701 on public affairs, and acted as interpreter to the Iroquois at the grand ratification of peace in August following, by all the Indians (*La Potherie*, IV. 241.) His death took place among the Iroquois in 1712. He was the best authority of his day as a philologist of the Mohawk language, and compiled several works in that dialect. (His *Racines Agnières* published by Dr. Shea as number X. of his linguistics.)

<sup>2</sup> Including Fathers Garnier and Milet at Onondaga, whose names are not given in the text. Father Pierron was transferred the following year from the Mohawk to the Seneca Mission and Garnier accompanied Fremin on his return to the Senecas. Father PIERRE MILET arrived in Canada in 1667, and was sent the following year to Onondaga

together to deliberate on all matters, during the six days we were engaged in concerting measures needful to the success of our missions, and for overcoming the obstacles which hinder the progress of the Faith in the country of the Iroquois.

As we were about to separate, lo an Iroquois messenger of Monsieur, the Governor, arrived there from Montreal, with belts of wampum, and letters from your Reverence and from Father Chaumonot, by which we were advised that the French had massacred, near Montreal, seven Oneidas with one of the most distinguished of the Senecas. This news produced a terrible excitement throughout the nation. A council was held immediately to deliberate on what had been done, and at which we were summoned to be present. The deputy coldly rehearsed the whole affair. He was bold to change on his own responsibility, the belts, taking the more beautiful one of five thousand beads, all black, which he accorded to this nation and only gave to the Senecas that which was the least esteemed. But the letter of Father Chaumonot had informed us of all these matters; and we all strenuously opposed him in this, and at last compelled him to act in strict accordance with his instructions. Garaontie having met, in the town, one from Seneca gave to him the belt which was for that nation, saying to him: "It is too far for me to

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where he received the name of Teharonhiaganna, or the looker up to heaven. He was removed to Oneida in 1671 and labored there until July 1684, when he left and joined De la Barre on Lake St. Francis, Aug. 1. At the request of the Marquis de Denonville, he was appointed Chaplain to Fort Frontenac in 1685, where he acted as interpreter in 1687; and in 1688 succeeded de Lamberville as Chaplain of the fort at Niagara. He returned to Fort Frontenac in 1689, and being lured outside the palisades to attend a dying Indian, was taken prisoner by the Oneidas and his life saved by adoption into an Oneida family. During his captivity the English made many efforts, though in vain, to get him in their power, for which purpose Governor Fletcher sent Dirck Wessels to Oneida. He was adopted into the tribe by a Christian agorander, Susan Gouentagrandi, and received the name of Otasete, that of the leading sachem of the first or Turtle branch of the tribe. Father Millet continued in this capacity until the fall of 1694 when he returned to Quebec. He asked to be returned again as missionary to those Indians, but the aspect of the times did not permit it. Charlevoix who was in Canada from 1705 to 1722 lived several years with Millet and speaks of him in terms of high esteem. Father Millet died at Quebec, Dec. 31, 1708.

go myself. Represent thou to thy sachems the voice and desire of Onontio." As to the belt designed for those of Oneida, he said that since they would shortly come to Onondaga to hold a general council, he would make known to them the will of Onontio. Without doubt a single affair of this nature is most unfortunate, and is enough to rekindle war between the Iroquois and French.

Scarcely had the council finished its business, when there was heard through the town, the cry of an Oneida, who had fortunately escaped from the hands of a troop of warriors of the nation of the Nez Percés. At this cry, they reassembled in council, to listen to the rehearsal of the adventure. "We were," he said, "five in one band. We were returning victorious with two prisoners, of Touïagannha; but unfortunately encountering a company of warriors of the nation of the Nez Percés, we were defeated, my four comrades having been slain, or taken together with our two captives; I alone am escaped from the combat.<sup>1</sup> Consider well the matter in dispute and how it should rouse to vengeance a people so fierce and indomitable as are the Iroquois." We did not learn what action was taken on the subject. What I am able to assure you is, that we are, by the grace of God, prepared for any event, according as it shall please Him to dispose of us, and that we esteem ourselves too happy to be able to offer our lives a sacrifice to Him.

Taking our departure from Onondaga, we arrived on the 7th of September, at Gandachioragou;<sup>2</sup> and, as we were passing through Gandagaro,<sup>3</sup> a drunken savage seized Father Garnier with one hand and raised the other at two different times to stab him with a knife; but fortunately, a woman happened near enough to this barbarian, to wrest the knife from his

<sup>1</sup> Here we have evidence of the proximity of the Touïagannha to the Nez Percés or Pierced Noses.

<sup>2</sup> See Seneca Towns, p. 25.    <sup>3</sup> Ibid.

hand, and prevented him from carrying farther his brutal design. I could not but admire in this encounter, the firmness and self-possession of the Father who did not betray the least sign of fear.

Three days after our arrival, he took charge of the mission of Gandachioragou,<sup>1</sup> where there are three or four Christians who have made open profession of their faith. He has only the charge of a single town, at least for the present year, in order that he may have time to acquire more perfectly the language of the country, and make for himself rules and a dictionary, that he may instruct the others; hence I am obliged to take care of the three other towns.

The twenty-seventh of September, as I was about to leave, to assume charge of the mission of St. Michael, I was taken ill, and compelled to remain for several days until the violence of the attack was passed.

After the first of September, the youth of the place, according to the custom, start for the open country; and the rest of the inhabitants who are able to endure the fatigues of the war or the chase, follow soon after. Of the latter there are about five hundred capable of war, divided into many bands who all go against the Touagannha, and four or five hundred to hunt the beaver, which they take in the direction of the country of the Hurons. The latter take their women and children with them, so that there remain only a small number of old people. I learn that it is the same at Goio-gouïen, and that they, also, divide themselves into hunters and warriors. This is very deplorable, as the result is that numbers from these nations die without baptism, as these expeditions are attended with the loss of many people, and what grieves me is that we are not able to remedy the evil. But God who knows His elect does not fail to furnish them the

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<sup>1</sup> See Seneca Towns, p. 25.

favorable opportunity to gain Paradise. We are often hindered by such absences and expeditions common to these people, from laboring for their instruction with the success we could desire. The greater part of those who belong to the towns where we were established, are away either at the war or the chase, nine months out of the year; and for a month previous to their departure, the youth are accustomed to abandon themselves to excess in drinking, till they become furious; so that excepting the old people and the women who are not addicted to such disorders, it is next to impossible to find opportunity to speak to them.

The Seneca arrived by way of Onondaga, in charge of the belt of wampum, which Onontio sent to the Senecas, in the matter of the death of one of their warriors, who was slain by the French. The belt was received with a marked coldness, and although the exemplary punishment which Monsieur the Governor inflicted upon the assassins, led them to approve of his conduct and applaud his justice, I think, nevertheless, that they would have been much better satisfied with ten belts of wampum than with the death of three Frenchmen, since they would not be disposed to render the same justice in similar circumstances. They declare, however, that they are content with this satisfaction; and I do not think they will dare to carry their resentment farther, nor attempt anything against the French.

The 27th of September, as I thought myself sufficiently recovered from my illness, I set out on the journey, to take charge of the mission of St. Michael in the town called Gandagarae.<sup>1</sup> Our brave Christian, Francis Tehoronhiongo, met me and conducted me to one of the finer cabins of the town, that of a person of consideration although an unbeliever, whose authority gave me protection against the insolence of the drunkards.

The third of November, which was the Sunday after the

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<sup>1</sup> See *Seneca Towns*, p. 25.

Festival of All Saints, the chapel being in order, I invited all our savages to come there to pray to God and be present at the Mass, which I was to say early in the morning. The chapel being full of people, I began my exhortation by declaring the object of my coming, and accordingly begged them to open their eyes to the truth, to recognize the God of heaven and earth, to put away everything that was displeasing to Him, and by their consistent fidelity, render themselves worthy of eternal happiness. I hope of the goodness of God, that His grace will dispose their minds to relish the truth of Christianity, and undeceive their vain superstition, beside drunkenness and the dream which are the two obstacles to the Faith among the Iroquois.

Father Garnier continues to labor bravely in the town of Gandachioragou. God serves Himself of him for the conversion of some souls toward whom His compassion has been extraordinary. More than twenty persons, happily, having been baptized, died most Christian-like. But it is evident that sufferings are the lot of the apostolic missionary, and that one must give himself up to the providence of God, laboring hard, and leading a life which may be called one continual death.

The missionary labors of Father Fremin in New York, close with the foregoing narrative, he having been transferred to important service in the vicinity of Montreal.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Father JAMES FREMIN arrived in Canada in 1655. He accompanied Dablon to Onondaga in 1656 and remained there until the breaking up of the missions in March, 1657; was then for two years at Miscou; next year at Three Rivers and Cape de la Madeleine. In 1666 he was assigned to the Cayuga Mission, but did not serve and next year was sent to the Mohawks. Near the close of 1668 he visited the Senecas and resided at Sonnotouan and remained there until the arrival of Father Garnier in the following year, when he changed his residence to Gandagarac, the south-eastern of the Seneca villages, laboring in that village and Gandagarac until 1670, when he was recalled and assigned to the mission of St. Francis Xavier, then located at La Prairie. This mission was removed to the Sault St. Louis in 1676, and in 1679 he visited France in its behalf. He was again in Canada in 1682, and died at Quebec on the 20th of July, 1692.

V.

The last chapter concluded the account of the mission for the year 1669 when Father Fremin was called to the residence of St. Francis Xavier<sup>1</sup> opposite Montreal, leaving Father Garnier in sole charge of the Seneca Mission. The following narrative for the succeeding year is contained in Chapter V. of *Relation 1671*: Second part.

Although the nation of the Seneca may be more rude and savage, having less intercourse with the French, and farther from the requisite disposition to embrace the Faith, nevertheless our Fathers who have labored in their missions for the past two years, have found there choice souls; and Father Garnier who at present has the entire charge of them, requests assistance in the hope that these people who are more numerous than all the other Iroquois, may at length be tamed, and give excellent scope to the zeal of the missionaries whom it may please God to send among them. The little that he sends us is well adapted to touch and attract hearts filled with the Holy Spirit. The miracles of grace wrought there, give us to see that the hand of God is not shortened; more than one hundred and ten baptized this year, are manifest

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<sup>1</sup> The place was originally designed as a resort for the missionary Fathers, to which they might retire in their annual retreats or in case of sickness; but it had already become a mission home where converts from the several Iroquois cantons might take refuge from the constant persecution of their own kindred, and also from the bad example and corrupting influence of their Pagan countrymen who were becoming more and more debauched by their intercourse with New York traders. The new village increased rapidly, and in 1674, had its organized government with permanent Christian institutions.



proofs of this, as well as the fervor and courage of some souls of the elect.

An old Christian named Francis Tehoronhiongo of the first of the church of St. Michael, distinguished for his eminent virtue and for the authority he has acquired over those of his own nation (Hurons), having recently lost by death an intimate friend, a good and very virtuous Christian, very suddenly, was so impressed by the circumstance of the importance of dying well, and the necessity of being ready at any moment to make the passage on which depends eternal happiness or misery, that he is not able to divert his thoughts. Such was the effect of this grace upon him, that from that time he formed the resolution, which he has inviolably kept, to debar himself from all feasts where he saw any appearance of superstition or of sin ; and as the time approached when the infidel savages course through the towns for the accomplishment of their dreams, he made public proclamation in the towns of St. Michael and St. James, that no person should approach him or any of his relatives to satisfy his dream, since he had done with this ceremony, and renounced these things at his baptism ; and as he did not recognize in a dream anything divine, so he would neither render worship to his own dream or the dreams of others.

One of the sachems of the town for whom that people have great respect, and desire to please, approaching him in the course of this public ceremony with a threat that unless he accorded to him what he had dreamed, he would impute to him, as is the belief of these people, all the misfortunes that might befall him, the menace did not in the least disturb him. He replied, proudly, that being a Christian, he had no fear ; he made the same reply to all who importuned him on the subject. This Christian consistency has won for him such confidence and respect, that if he happened unexpectedly in a gathering where the infidels are conversing together of

things immodest or to the disparagement of the Faith or of Christianity, they immediately change their conversation; many apply to him for instruction in our holy mysteries which he understands perfectly; also to learn the prayers.<sup>1</sup>

Divine Providence serves himself the oftener of affliction to dispose them to listen to his holy speech; humiliation and misfortune render them the more docile. The same Father writes us that never has he had more attentive hearing than since the burning of the town of St. Michael which occurred last spring, when all the cabins with the chapel, were reduced to ashes, without the possibility of saving anything, neither furniture, corn, nor anything necessary to life. These poor people do not appear in any wise troubled by it, but on the contrary they testify to the Father that they recognize God has punished them justly for their infidelity and the resistance they had maintained till then, to the progress of the gospel. They beg earnestly that he will by no means leave them; they promise so soon as they have rebuilt their cabins and their palisade for security against their enemies, to set up a chapel much more beautiful than the former one, and that they will be more assiduous in prayer than in the past. The Father adds that they make their protestation in terms so strong and with such marks of sincerity, that he is firmly persuaded they will keep their word. *Fiat, fiat.*

We recognize even more sensibly in their fatal maladies the effects of grace, and the fruits the daily instructions pro-

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<sup>1</sup> This aged man and his wife left the Seneca towns in 1677, with a son and a grandchild to spend their remaining days at the mission of the Mountain of Montreal; having become free by the death of the heads of the cabin in which he had been so long a slave. He was received there with joy; already known by the annual Relations of the Jesuits for his fervent piety, he justified his reputation by his conduct at the mission by his labors for the poor and afflicted, where he finally became blind, as was supposed by his intense devotion. He died in 1690, at the advanced age of 100 years; and the inscription over the place of his burial, in one of the ancient towers on the Mountain of Montreal, reads: "He was by his piety and probity the example of Christians, and the wonder of unbelievers."

duce on minds that, at the time, appear the more rebellious and opposed to the Faith. I give here among others two or three examples which appear to be attended with circumstances the more remarkable.

A Seneca of the town of St. James,<sup>1</sup> very aged and a person of consideration, having been taken sick, the Father visited him and offered on his part to render him all possible assistance for the relief of his malady and the salvation of his soul. He refused both roughly, so that the Father was compelled to withdraw after some kind attentions, in order not to prejudice him at the outset. Many days passed with him in this ill nature, during which the Father was able to do nothing, except to intercede with God for the miserable one, who to all human appearance must die without baptism and in unbelief, the door of his cabin closed and all access to him denied.

In the meanwhile, the Father was well apprised that he was visibly sinking, which was to him an unspeakable sorrow. It is only for those who have had the experience, to understand what it is to see a single unfortunate soul, that one has come to seek from across the sea, so near to perdition without being able to give aid and succor in rescuing it from the danger; but the goodness of God who shows Himself equally favorable to the poor savage as to the greatest monarch of earth, extended his hand toward him in an unlooked for manner. As these people are guided by their dreams, it was permitted that in sleep he should see the Father who gave him a medicine most efficacious for his recovery. This was enough to induce him to send with all possible dispatch and, on his own part, beseech the Father to come and visit him immediately. He was found at St. Michael, where, awaiting the moment of grace, he had gone to visit his

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<sup>1</sup> Gandagara. See note on Seneca towns, p. 25.

church. He left everything at this news and returned with all possible speed. The sick man was overjoyed at his coming; made him take a seat at his bed and said to him; "Ourasera (which is the Indian name for the Father) give me, I pray thee, immediately, the medicine; I have seen it, while dreaming, in thy hands and it will cure me." "Ah, my brother," replied the Father, "most willingly, I am about to give thee a medicine, but very different and far better than that which thou hast seen in the dream; thou art in no farther need for the body, which is in no condition to be benefited; a medicine of this nature, would only serve to hasten the end of thy life. The great Master of life, who loves thee, commands me to give thee a medicine which is wholly heavenly, and will restore life and health to thy soul; deliver it from eternal death; procure for it instead of this poor life which we have in common with the animals, a life of everlasting happiness in heaven, by the help of baptism." While the Father was speaking, the Holy Spirit wrought upon the heart of the savage, and at the word baptism of which he had spoken many times without effect, he roused himself as from a deep sleep and besought him, earnestly, to remind him of the instructions, which at other times he had given him to prepare him to receive the sacrament. This the Father was prompt to do, and the sick man listened with joy and consolation. Having nevertheless judged it proper to defer his baptism until the morrow, at the break of day he visited him and found him in holy impatience to see himself of the number of the children of God, having passed the entire night in acts of faith and contrition, and in reciting the prayers taught him the previous day, which in no particular had he forgotten, so far as observed by the Father, the sick one having repeated them from memory in his presence. He then received holy baptism with sincere devotion; and having passed the whole day and night in praising God, asking

that he might be taken to paradise, he died the following day, leaving this impression with his pastor, that he was infallibly of the number of the elect.

I conclude this chapter with an extract from a letter which I have received from this same missionary in these terms: "Drunkenness caused by the beverages which the infidels obtain from the Hollanders, brought more than eighty leagues by land, is now more universal than ever, extending even to the women; and these disorders continue for twelve or fifteen days after the arrival of each band of traders. During all this time as there is neither food nor fire in their cabins, they are abandoned day and night. The rest of the people flee for concealment to the fields and the woods. Amid all this debauchery, the virtue of our Christians shines out brightly. They are steadfast in their duties and show as great aversion to these orgies, as they are foreign to their profession. The drunkards, themselves, evince this respect, that they do not come near the chapel.<sup>1</sup> We have our assemblies as usual on Sundays, and our Christians gather with great pains from their hiding places, hearing mass with as much quiet and devotion as at any other time of the year. I have more concern for the sick, not knowing where to find them. I have not failed to baptize certain ones, among them, an adult, who after a year of labor, gave me much consolation. He was a catechumen and sufficiently diligent in the ordinary prayers. One day, finding him very ill, I judged it proper, with his consent, to prepare him for baptism. I instructed him to this end, in the mysteries of our faith, and caused him to perform the acts necessary to prepare him for this sacrament, which, nevertheless for good reasons, I deferred. Then finding him delirious and in danger of death, I

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<sup>1</sup> This was often the only refuge of the missionary against personal violence to which from various causes, he was exposed; but more especially, in scenes such as are here described.

did not scruple to baptize him. Some time after coming to himself, he called me and said angrily that I had deceived him; that in his dream he had found himself in heaven where the French had received him with the whoops that they (savages) are accustomed to make on the arrival of their captives of war, and that at the time he made his escape, they already had the fire brands in their hands to burn him. As for the rest, that the water which I poured upon his head was a spell and sorcery which would cause his death or fix his fate to be burned eternally in the other world. I had recourse to God, more especially, in this juncture so unexpected; and at last, He gave me grace after three hours of conflict, with mildness and kindness, to convince and undeceive him. He gave up all these delusions caused by the demon that would destroy him. He recovered with admirable behavior his first thoughts, and the sentiments of a soul truly converted. He only desired to die, rather than offend God any more, and be eternally happy in heaven. He made of his own accord a petition at the close of the ordinary prayers in these words: "Thou who art in heaven have pity on me; draw me, as soon as possible from here below, that I may be perfectly happy in heaven."

One other sick person has consoled me still more, acting in the matter of his health in a most extraordinary manner for a savage, and who has given noble testimony to the Faith. To gain him to God, besides the frequent instructions I gave him, I spared myself in no respect night or day, to minister to him and lead him to believe that I strongly desired his recovery. One day, perceiving clearly that my remedies were without effect, and that he was continually growing worse, nevertheless, seeing my extraordinary earnestness to relieve him, he said to me: "My brother, I see well that thou art my friend, but I pray thee no longer think of my body; but apply thyself rather to save my soul; it is all over; I shall

die ; I can no longer doubt, and what is important is to die well." I then instructed him fully and baptized him. From that time, well satisfied and thinking only of Paradise, he commenced to sing his song, which they call the death song, but in very different terms from those he formerly would have used, in straits or while an unbeliever. "It is Jesus," he said, "who is the Master of my life ; he leads me to heaven, never more to sin ; nevermore to dream ; the great Master in heaven forbids it." These were his last sentiments which he clung to even unto death.

After all it is to be confessed that these peoples are strongly opposed to the Faith, and that the conversion of even one savage is a stroke from heaven. The freedom that they cherish more than their life ; the arrogance which is their nature as well as the fickleness of their resolutions ; the impurity in which they are reared ; the strong attachment they have for their dreams and superstitious customs ; their sports and ordinary occupation in the chase and in the war, which renders them unsettled and keeps them for the most of the time in the field or forest, besides the demon of drunkenness, which has possessed them for some years, are without doubt great hinderances for the permanent establishment of religion. Nevertheless, the zeal, the trust, the devotion, patience and forbearance of our missionaries, surmount all these obstacles and give us reason to hope that God will increase the blessings already bestowed, beyond even what He at present gives to their labors. It is already a great advantage, that they know the language ; that they have found access to their minds ; that they are loved and esteemed among them ; that they have entire freedom to preach, in public and private, the word of God, and that there is scarcely a family in all their country that is not more or less instructed in the principal mysteries of our Faith. Many possess the Faith, although still attached to their evil customs and are not

Christians by profession. They evince this in their maladies when often of their own accord, they send for our Fathers lest they should die without baptism.

Prayers are regularly observed in each town, both morning and evening, in the chapel where the catechumens are gathered, and where Christians receive on Sunday the sacraments. There also they go through the catechism, in addition to the instructions given them each day in their cabins. Numbers of little children escape to heaven through the grace of baptism, it being one of the chief solitudes of our Fathers to see to it that not a single one of these dies without the sacrament. It is thus that, in spite of hell, these little churches make progress. There is none of them that does not contain choice souls, who imitate the fervor and charity of the Christians of the first ages, and furnish by their good example a powerful motive for the conversion of others. In a word, our evangelical laborers are so far from thinking that there is nothing to be done for the Faith among these peoples, that they call upon us from all sides and ask us for reinforcements with all conceivable urgency, particularly those who labor in these lands full of briers and thorns, for the culture of peoples more barbarous and rebellious toward the Gospel.



One single infant secure in heaven through holy baptism, is sufficient to change into sweetness all these bitter trials.

This old man of whom I have spoken, takes advantage of everything that has occurred of late, and particularly of whatever those who have been to Quebec, have reported against us. It by no means needed this, to turn from prayer and to embitter against us a people so suspicious, and who are entirely given up to sorceries and superstitions; hence they cease to come to the chapel. If I enter their cabins to seek out the sick, they regard me with an evil eye; and if I attempt to instruct, they ordinarily interrupt me with insulting speech. Any sudden outbreak of drunkenness, in such circumstances, compels me to retire to the chapel where I have always found refuge. I wonder that, in these troubles, never but in a single instance, has a drunkard come to seek me there, and him they prevented, nevertheless, from doing me injury. During eleven months there have died in all the towns of this nation, thirty-three baptized persons, almost all infants. We have baptized seven others who are still sick; in all forty.

The mercy of God has been great toward certain baptized adults, among others, toward a captive of the Ontoüagannha or Chaoüanong, advanced in age; ordinarily they bring as captives, only the young men from countries so distant. God so ordered it that, happily, I should find myself in this place, on his arrival with an interpreter, the only one I know of this language in this country; he heard with pleasure all that I taught him of the chief mysteries of our Faith and of eternal happiness in paradise. At length I found him disposed to baptism, and I think he entered heaven the same day he arrived at Tsonnontöian. Divine Providence had conducted him bound, more than three hundred leagues, to enable him to find here the true liberty of the children of God.

A woman being seized with epilepsy, threw herself in the midst of a large fire and before she could be rescued, was so

severely burned, that the bones of her hands and arms fell away one after the other. As I was not in the village, at the time, a young Frenchman that I have with me, who is well acquainted with the language and performs worthily the office of a catechist, hastened thither; and having found her in her right mind, spoke to her of God and His salvation, instructed and performed for her all the necessary acts on the occasion and baptized her. This poor creature spent the eight or ten days that remained of her life, in prayer; this was her only consolation in her terrible suffering, and extreme abandonment of all human succor, which she endured with admirable patience, in the hope of eternal life. These are effects of divine grace, which make themselves understood in these barbarous countries most obviously, and which greatly alleviate the toils, fatigues and afflictions of a missionary.

A Christian young man of a strange nation who died a most saintly death, touched me greatly whenever I encouraged him to pray to God during his last sickness; his affection and devotion were visible in his eyes, over his countenance and in the fervor of his speech; his relatives were struck with admiration; he assured me over and over again, that he desired death that he might the more speedily see himself in heaven. Such sentiments are a most manifest token of faith. A Christian Huron woman has given to us similar proofs; she had, in short, allowed herself to be persuaded in the prostration caused by a long sickness, that a superstitious feast would heal her; but she discovered her mistake, and of her own accord desired to make public reparation, manifesting great grief at having obeyed the instruments of hell, whom she upbraided in good earnest for the wickedness they had shown in giving to her advice so detestable.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Father de Carheil gives an account of one of these feasts of healing, to which he was invited, at Tiohero, one of the stations of the Cayuga mission.—See *Early Chapters of Cayuga History*, pp. 42-3.

The Hurons of the Mission of St. Michael, manifest greater desire than ever to return to Quebec to augment the church of Notre Dame de Foye.<sup>1</sup> Some of them who are not now Christians, declare that then they would embrace the Faith. The most notable and aged of them all, took up the word in continuation of a short lesson that I had given touching this matter, and declared that for himself, he would not wait so long a time to become a Christian; that he had from this hour formed the resolution; that he renounced his dreams and all that was forbidden of God; that he would present himself for continual instruction; that he would not fail a single day to assist in the prayer and that he would exhort others to follow his example. He has held to his word thus far, and I hope that soon he will be baptized.

I conclude for the present, with a worthy act of Christian courage. An aged person of this little church, who has performed with great edification the office of catechist for more than twenty years, during which it had been deprived of a pastor, in consequence of the wars of many years, having learned that his only son had been killed on the spot in a battle with the Gandastogue, he was afflicted to the last degree, although with entire resignation to the will of God, which he constantly evinced in acts of heroism. But what surprised every one was, that a second report having been brought in, that the young man was not dead and that the wounds he had received did not appear to be mortal, as he had been borne away on a sort of a litter, the old man at

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<sup>1</sup> This mission was founded by Father Joseph Chaumonot, from a small Huron colony which sought refuge on the Isle of Orleans opposite Quebec, and which he himself accompanied, the year after the destruction of their nation. Here he remained with the exception of the years 1655-8, when he was at Onondaga preparing the way for the establishment of the Iroquois missions. In 1693, the year of his death, he removed the mission to a new site where he erected a church and chapel modeled on the Holy House of Lorette, and perfectly like it in form, materials, dimensions and furniture. From this circumstance the mission took the name of Lorette. Here the Hurons long enjoyed great prosperity.—See Shea's *Catholic Missions*, pp. 197, 198.

once regained his spirits and breathing into his faith new vigor, he passed the day in rendering thanksgiving to God, full of reverence and gratitude. The whole village gathered in a body at his cabin in order to testify to him their joy, and they left it with a high estimate of his virtue.

After all, I have remarked that it is not so much the degeneracy of manners that prevents our savages from being Christians, as the false ideas which, for the most part, they have concerning the Faith and of Christianity. I know nearly two hundred families, among others, in firm and permanent marriages, who bring up their children morally well; who forbid their daughters too free outside acquaintance, so that they are kept from dissipation and lewdness; who have a horror of drunkenness, and who only need the Faith to lead in all respects Christian-like lives. It is this gift of God that we implore without ceasing for these poor souls, who are the price of His blood, and whom I commend very specially, my Reverend Father, to your holy prayers and pious sacrifices.

TSONNONTOUAN, July 20, 1672.

## VII.

This letter of Father Garnier comprises chapter VII of *Relation 1672-3,*<sup>1</sup> and pertains to the missions of the Conception and St. Michael.

“We have never discharged our duties with more of quiet, or with more of freedom than the present year. The Father P. Raffeix,<sup>2</sup> arrived at the Conception, at the end of July, a month after I resumed charge of St. Michael, where I had not been for a year, as the village had entirely burned down, and as I was left alone at Tsonnontouïan. I have received all the satisfaction I could hope for in our Christians, from their assiduity in frequenting the chapel, morning and evening, for the prayer, and from their promptness in coming every Sunday to the instruction that I give them before the mass, as well as for the zeal with which many of them bear testimony in support of the party of the Faith in the presence of lewd persons who talk against it. A certain person having said, one day at a superstitious feast which she had given, that the fear of my reproofs had kept her for a length of time to her duty; “the fear of God and His judgments should restrain you always,” replied a good Christian who was present; and as he was acquainted with our mysteries, he followed with excellent instruction in the hearing of all.

What has given esteem to the prayer, is the example of

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<sup>1</sup> *Relation ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable aux Missions des Peres de la Compagnie de Jesus en la Nouvelle France les annees 1672 et 1673 Par le Rev. Pere Claude Dablon.* This Relation was printed by John Gilmary Shea in 1861.

<sup>2</sup> Father Raffeix had left the previous year to take charge of the Cayuga mission in the absence of Father de Carheil for the recovery of his health.

the principal men who are foremost to come to pray to God. The Chief of the Hurons allows no occasion to pass, without exhorting, especially, the old men to embrace the faith without delay; and were it not for the eagerness with which they recur to superstitious remedies in their sicknesses, this church would largely increase in a short time. The Neuters and the Onontogas, who form a part of the town, are at last softened by the example of the Hurons and at present come to the prayer in common with them.

As there is not yet a chapel in the town of St. James, which, however, at one time was larger than St. Michael, I was obliged to make up the want, by frequent visits among the cabins, both to baptize the sick infants and to instruct the adult sick and others. I assist them in the prayer, after the instruction in the cabins; and many have come to meet me at St. Michael and to pray to God in the chapel. The complaint that each one makes to me when I go to see them is, that we prefer the Hurons to them; and that of all the Iroquois principal towns, this is the only one that has not a missionary among them; if your Reverence would do us the favor to send us a third, I have hope that he will be well received.<sup>1</sup> It is necessary there for the commencement of a church, which can only be successfully done by a person who resides on the spot, since there are many infants and adults who die before I learn of their sickness, and consequently without assurance; for the reason that I am not on the ground, whatever diligence I use, it will be that some continually escape.

I have baptized since the month of July, 1672, forty-three infants, of which twenty-nine rejoiced soon after in the happiness which baptism had brought them, and many of the others still languish; and twelve adults, of whom nine died

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<sup>1</sup> Father Pierron was soon after sent to St. James in accordance with this request.

shortly after their baptism and left me excellent signs of their predestination. Besides these, many infants are dead, baptized in preceding years. Among the twelve adults whom I baptized, the divine mercy appeared more especially toward certain ones who appeared to offer the greatest resistance to the grace. The first was an old man, strongly attached to the superstitions of the country, and above all to the principal one, which is the fulfillment of their dreams. God served Himself of this, at the same time for his salvation ; for after having listened often to what had been said of the great Master of all things who is in heaven ; of the mercies which He bestows upon those who are obedient, and the judgments which He inflicts upon those who are rebellious, it was permitted that He Himself be shown to him in a dream, which offered to him his friendship, and promised to him all kinds of good in heaven. I had no further difficulty in persuading him that if he would listen to the word of God, he would have pity upon him. "I doubt no more," replied the sick man, "make me to understand His will as soon as possible, that I may execute it."

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<sup>1</sup> Frequent reference is made in the previous articles of this series, as indeed throughout both the Huron and Iroquois *Relations*, to the power of dreams over the savage mind, which when once interpreted, were to be executed at all hazards. The Senecas, according to Father Fremin, were exceedingly scrupulous in this obedience to their divinity. This superstition retained its hold among them long after, as may be inferred from the following incident given by Morgan in his *Iroquois League*, (in a note to page 214) which, in this connection, will be read with interest : In 1810 the celebrated Cornplanter, chief of the Senecas, resigned his chiefship in consequence of a dream. "During a New Year's celebration at his village on the Allegany, he went from house to house for three days, announcing wherever he went, that he had had a dream and wished to find some one to guess it. On the third day a Seneca told him he would relate his dream. Seeing him nearly naked and shivering with cold, he said, you shall henceforth be called Onono, meaning cold. This signified that his name, Gyantwaka, should pass away from him and with it his title as chief. He then explained the interpretation to Cornplanter more fully ; that he had had a sufficient term of service for the good of the nation ; that he was grown too old to be of much further use as a warrior or a counsellor and that he must therefore appoint a successor ; that if he wished to preserve the continued good will of the Great Spirit, he must remove from his house and sight every article of the workmanship or invention of the white man. Cornplanter having listened with earnest attention to this interpretation, confessed that it was cor-

Another old man of the Ouenro nation, whom I had solicited for a long time to become a Christian, fell sick; his wife, who was the only one to take care of him also was taken sick and died a few days after, as she had lived, in a Christian-like way. The man seeing himself in the last extremity, commenced to listen to the instruction that I gave him. He had no other consolation upon earth but the hope of Paradise, which strengthened in him continually in the measure that he became disgusted with his life.

I conclude with the baptism of a young woman who languished for a long time. She was of a gentle and innocent disposition and readily remembered, as well as listened to my instructions. Both her parents, who had a great aversion to the Faith, told her continually that she should not listen to me; that I only deceived her and that she would find in heaven only fires in place of the happiness I had caused her to hope for. As the savages have great respect for their parents and believe readily all that they say to them, this good woman for a length of time prayed to God conditionally; "If it is true that one is happy in heaven, Thou who art the Master of it, have pity on me and conduct me there after my death." After laboring for a long time to remove the suspicion with which they had inspired her, I had the consolation of seeing her depart life entirely convinced of the truth of the Faith, and with great desire to go

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rectly guessed and that he was resolved to execute it. His presents, which he had received from Washington, Adams, Jefferson and others, he collected together, with the exception of his tomahawk, and burned them. Among his presents thus consumed, was a full uniform of an American officer, including an elegant sword and his medal given him by Washington. He then selected an old and intimate friend to be his successor, and sent to him his tomahawk and a belt of wampum to announce his resolution and wishes. Although contrary to their customs, the Senecas, out of reverence for his extraordinary dream, at once raised up as chief the person selected by Cornplanter, and invested him with the name of Gyantwaka, which he bore during his life. Cornplanter, after this event, was always known among the Iroquois under the name of Onono. His tomahawk, the last relic of Cornplanter, is now in the State Historical Collection at Albany."



to heaven, which made her importunate to be baptized as soon as possible. Seeing her in so holy a disposition, I accorded to her desire; and going to see her the following day, I learned that she had died soon after her baptism. At the same time, I learned that a youth wounded with an arrow, was in extremity; I baptized him and in an hour afterward, he died. Seven adults and eight children baptized by Father Raffeix, who died shortly after baptism, increased the number of the elect.”

It was in this year (1673) that Frontenac began the fort, which subsequently bore his name, near the outlet of Lake Ontario; but in order to quiet any suspicions the Iroquois might take at such a movement, he despatched La Salle to Onondaga, the capital of the confederacy, to arrange for a council to be held at Kente<sup>1</sup> the last of June, and should he judge proper, to convey word of the same to the other villages. The following letter of Father Garnier to Frontenac, written from Tsonnontouan, under date of July 10, 1673, (translated from the Margry Documents, I. pp. 239-240.) will show how the proposition was received by the Senecas.

“After presenting you with my most humble respects, and assuring you that I share largely in the general joy at your happy arrival in the country, praying God that He would assist you by His spirit, in order that your plans may succeed to the advancement of His holy service; for the honor of the King, and for the welfare of the whole country, it is my further duty to inform you of what is passing in this quarter regarding the King's service. As soon as I received your commands, conveyed by Sieur de la Salle, I made them known to the savages of this nation, which comprises three principal towns; two are composed of the natives of the

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<sup>1</sup> The place was changed at the request of the Iroquois, and the council was held at Cataracoui, the site of the projected fort.

country, and the third, of the remnants of several Huron nations, destroyed by the Iroquois. Altogether, they are able to raise about eight hundred men, capable of conducting war against their enemies. The chiefs of each village have been deputed to meet you at the place which you have designated. They have made peace with all the nations with which M. de Courcelles<sup>1</sup> had forbidden them to make war, the King having taken them under his protection. They have recalled all their young men, no more to turn their arms against that region. Their greatest desire now is, to carry on commerce with Montreal whither they will gladly take their skins, if their commodities find as good a market there as at Orange, where this year they have advanced in price. They greatly desire that the French should dwell in their country, above all such as will be most useful, as blacksmiths, and armorers. Thèse are the requests they make for themselves. I am, etc.”

The French occupation of the Niagara River under La Salle, in 1678, rendered it expedient to send another embassy to the Senecas, to quiet their suspicions, more particularly with reference to the project of building there a vessel to facilitate purposes of trade.<sup>2</sup> The mission was confided to the Sieur de la Motte, accompanied by the Recollect Father Louis Hennepin, who records the journey of five days from Niagara, in the dead of winter, and their reception at the Seneca village.<sup>3</sup> The next day after their arrival (January 1, 1679), mass was celebrated in the little bark chapel and a sermon was preached by Hennepin, both the Fathers, Garnier and Raffeix, being present. The council was convened the following day, composed of forty-two sachems; “and

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<sup>1</sup> The predecessor of Frontenac as Governor of New France.

<sup>2</sup> For a full account of this enterprise and the subsequent fortunes of the vessel, see *The Building and Voyage of the Griffon in 1679*, by O. H. Marshall.

<sup>3</sup> Shea's Hennepin, *Description of Louisiana*, pp. 75-81.

although these Indians, (says Hennepin), who are almost all large men, were merely wrapped in robes of beaver or wolf skins, and some in black squirrel skins, often with a pipe in the mouth, no Senator of Venice ever assumed a graver countenance or spoke with more weight than the Iroquois sachems in their assemblies." After the interpreter had explained the object of this visit, stating "that the Sieur de la Salle, their friend, was going to build a great wooden canoe to go and seek goods in Europe, by a shorter way than that by the rapids of the St. Lawrence, in order to supply them with the same at a cheaper rate," with other reasons, the customary presents were distributed in behalf of the French nation, consisting of goods to the value of four hundred livres. But before his speech, Sieur de la Motte demanded the withdrawal from the council, of the Jesuit Garnier, of whom he was suspicious; and Hennepin,<sup>1</sup> mor-

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<sup>1</sup> Father Louis HENNEPIN was born at Ath, in Hainaut. He entered the order of St. Francis as a novice in the Recollect convent at Bethune in the province of Artois. He arrived in Canada in September 1675, on the same vessel with Robert Cavellier, Sieur de la Salle to whom Louis XIV had granted letters of nobility and the seigniorly of Fort Frontenac, a short time previous. He journeyed as a missionary to different points, and from Fort Frontenac with a single companion made a journey on snow-shoes to the country of the Iroquois, visiting the Onondagas, Oneida and Mohawk cantons, at the latter, meeting Father Bruyas, and making a copy of his *Racines Agnieres*, after which he returned to Fort Frontenac and built a mission house in which Iroquois and French children were associated together in a school. In 1678 he was one of the number selected to accompany La Salle in his fourth voyage of discovery to the south-west of the great lakes. The party left Fort Frontenac in November, and after coasting along the northern shore of Lake Ontario reached Teiaiagon at the head of the lake. On the 6th of December they reached the mouth of the Niagara river which no barque had ever yet entered. The next day explorations were made to find a suitable place to construct a vessel above the falls, which resulted in selecting a point on Cayuga creek near the present hamlet of La Salle. While the workmen were engaged in the construction of this, the first vessel to navigate the upper lakes, he accompanied Sieur de la Motte on a five days' winter journey through the forest to the great village Sonontouan, of the Senecas, of which Tegarohies was chief sachem, and hence, sometimes called Tegarohies town. This was then located on the west side of Honeoye creek, a mile and a half N. N. W. of Honeoye Falls. Father Julian Garnier was then in charge of the Mission at this village, and Sieur de la Motte refused to deliver his message to the council in his presence, for which reason Garnier withdrew accompanied by Hennepin, both highly offended. The vessel, named the Griffon, was launched early in the spring, loaded with a forge, ship carpenter's tools and the iron work for a vessel to be

tified at the affront given to the missionary of the village, withdrew with him and took no farther part, for that day, in the proceedings. The next day the Senecas replied to the presents, article by article, expressing their satisfaction and their thanks. On the last day of the council, a band of Seneca warriors brought in a "Hontouagaha" captive and after subjecting him to the customary tortures, allowed the children to cut bits of flesh from the dead body, and eat them. Disgusted with the whole scene, de La Motte and his companions withdrew from the chief's cabin and without delay retraced their steps through the forests to the Niagara River.

In the meanwhile the work of the missionaries, now reinforced by the arrival of Father John Pierron from the Mohawk, was contested at every step, especially by the medicine men, who were ever using their influence with the people, for the persecution of the missionaries. "Garnier was accused of sorcery, and as accusation and condemnation were nearly synonymous, they determined to tomahawk him. The executioner was named and paid; but God averted the

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built on the banks of the Illinois river, and started on its perilous voyage August 7, 1679. Coasting along the north shore of Lake Erie, through lakes St. Clair and Huron, they reached St. Ignace of Michillimacinae, and afterward an island at the entrance of Green Bay, where the cargo was unloaded and transferred to small boats, and the vessels reloaded with furs and sent back to Niagara. They reached the southern extremity of Lake Michigan October 28th, from which two routes led to the Illinois; one followed by Marquette and Joliet on their return by way of Desplaines and Chicago rivers; the other by way of St. Joseph's on the east side of the lake, to present South Bend, and thence by a short portage to the Kankakee and down it to the Illinois. La Salle chose the latter and constructed at the mouth of St. Joseph's a fort named the Fort of Miami. On the 3d of December they ascended the St. Joseph's to the portage, and thence descended the Kankakee and Illinois to present Peoria, where a second fort was commenced under the significant name of *Fort Crevecoeur* or the Broken Heart, for this apparently marked the extreme western limit of La Salle's third attempt and third failure to reach the great Mississippi. Here the keel was laid of a barque, in which it was proposed to descend the Mississippi. From here, with two companions, Michael Accault and Anthony Anguelle, Hennepin, on February 29th, was sent to explore the upper Mississippi, and lay the foundation for missions among the unknown tribes. They descended the Illinois to the Mississippi and thence ascending the latter through the drifting ice, were on the 11th of April 1680, captured by a party of 120 Sioux who were descending the river to make war on the Miami's, Illinois and Tamaroa.—J. S. C.

blow. Raffeix sought to lead a dying girl to the truth, but such was the hatred then prevailing against the missionaries, that she sprang from the sick couch and tore his face with her nails, till he streamed with blood. He did not however, despair; continuing his visits, his kind and gentle manners disabused her. She listened, was convinced, and to his consolation died piously uttering a prayer to Jesus the Giver of life."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Shea's *Catholic Missions*, 292-3.

## VIII.

This chapter will conclude the history of the Seneca Missions; and comprises all that may be gathered from *Relation 1673-9*.<sup>1</sup>

Father Raffeix writes from Sonnontouan in these terms: "We endeavor to let no children die without baptism. I have conferred it on many this year, 1675, several of whom died after receiving it. As they are our surest gain, they form our greatest consolation, and we watch over them with special care, and God very often in regard to these innocent little ones discovers the treasures of his special Providence. Frequently mothers who had no inclination for the faith have come to me to restore to health their dying children, who expired after I had given them spiritual health by baptism, instead of the bodily health they had brought me to confer.

I had for six months been watching a sickly little child. Our fear of making apostates, in case they recover from disease, makes us wait to the last, till danger of death. Satan envious of the glory which this child will render to God for all eternity in heaven, it was carried away to a cabin remote from the village, and deep in the woods.

Besides this I learned that it was dying. One day as I was ready to say mass, I was told that some were going to that cabin. I had begged them to let me know when any one was going. I left the village with those who set out to go there, and I ascertained the road they took. After mass

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<sup>1</sup> The several translations contained in this chapter were made by Dr. John Gilmory Shea, for the present work.

I started. The child's guardian angel made me find people at every fork of the road. But I should never have got there, had not three young children, who had come from the place whither I was going, and who were on their way home, changed their mind. They turned back with me, but scampered around in the woods so that I lost sight of them. I overtook them at last and reached the cabin, but found neither the mother nor the dying child there, although the three children had left them there shortly before. I sent three times to call the mother from a neighboring field to which she was in the habit of going. Three times, too, I went there myself, and as I was returning the last time she entered the cabin with her child from another direction. I remained some time with it while she went to fetch water, which I used to baptize the child, which died soon after.

You see how a missionary should not spare himself, but if he has not great tact, he will lose many opportunities of acting for the salvation of the children."

"Last year they baptized 350 Iroquois. The year before Father Garnier baptized 55 in one of the Seneca towns, and Father Pierron 90 at Sonnantouan."

RELATION 1673-4, CHAP. V. MISSIONS OF ST. MICHAEL AND  
ST. JAMES AMONG THE SENECA.

If the Indians of the town of St. Michael were as well weaned from the superstitions of the country as they have hitherto preserved themselves from the vice of drunkenness, there would be no difficulty in making them genuine Christians. Most of them solicit baptism from Father Garnier, who is obliged to refuse them, because they will not renounce certain dances and other superstitious ceremonies, which they employ as remedies in sickness. Two things render their attachments to this kind of folly more difficult to break.

The first is the false hope of recovering their health by this means. The second is the profit which many derive from them. This has not prevented two of the poorest families in the town from setting an example of courage and fidelity to God, all the more admirable, inasmuch as by abandoning the practice of these superstitions, they deprived themselves of the only stay left them to relieve their poverty and extreme want. We often see in these poor savages, similar effects of a powerful grace, an evident testimony of heroic virtue.

A Huron woman, who had long been a Christian, after having lived in great innocence, combined with much delicacy of conscience, feeling herself attacked by a severe disease, summoned the Father at once, to assure him, in the presence of all her kindred, that she wished to die as she had lived, renouncing everything at variance with her profession of Christianity. As she soon saw herself beset by the medicine men and soothsayers of the country, who urged her to permit them at least to tell her the cause of her death, she left her cabin to be rid of their importunity, and dying as she was, had herself carried to the middle of the fields. Thence she sent to ask the Father to come and suggest to her some pious prayers. This noble act merited her obtaining, as a reward in this life, the conversion of her husband. While she lived he would never listen to anything in regard to his being baptized; but as soon as she was dead, he was the first to ask this favor, with great earnestness. Thus does God display in these far countries, as well as elsewhere, that he is the Master of hearts, to touch and attract them efficaciously, at the time and in the manner that he pleases. He seems to expect some at the hour of death, and employs bodily ailment to restore health to the soul, as he did in the case of a young woman, the infection exhaling from whose body had made them turn out of several cabins, although the Indians are far from nice in such matters. The missionary was still



and so not his infectious nor did not prevent his assiduous  
wishes to instruct her. He found her very well disposed by  
the lively apprehension of the sufferings of a future life, and  
to be very sorry for having indulged in a life of sin. The  
Father deemed it expedient to grant her the grace of bap-  
tism, and he had reason for prompt action, for the sacrament  
was immediately followed by death.

There are others whom God converts by the ministry and  
exhortations of those who desire conversion themselves. An  
Indian of the town of the Conception has already obtained  
the salvation of several of his relatives, but has been unwill-  
ing to labor for his own salvation. He is a man of very  
good sense, who has always taken pleasure in the instruction  
of the missionaries. As he has much intellect, he is well  
versed in the mysteries of our religion; he calls himself a  
Christian by choice, although his life has hitherto rendered  
him unworthy of baptism. When he learns that any of his  
relatives or friends is dangerously ill, he goes and instructs  
him, and to be more easily believed by the patient, he assures  
him that he has long examined what the Black Gows say,  
and that after all his examination, he could find nothing that  
did not confirm to the truth: that moreover he is persuad-  
ing them only to do what he intends to do himself: and he  
intends really to solicit baptism when he sees he is going  
die. He says these things so appositely and skillfully, that  
scarcely one fails to be convinced, or be perfectly prepared  
by him to receive that sacrament. He did this recently so  
happily in the case of one of his nephews, that Father Gar-  
nier was delighted at the fervor with which this young man  
solicited baptism, and the rare dispositions with which he  
received it.

But of all the means which God employs most in these  
three towns of St. Michael, St. James and the Conception,  
which belong to the nation of the Senecas, that which most

efficaciously converts the Indians, is misery and being abandoned by all creatures. None are better disposed to hear instructions or more prompt in obeying the movements of grace, than the poor slaves or other persons destitute of all succor, and forsaken by all the world. These give the missionary the greatest consolation, and amid their temporal miseries, they more voluntarily receive the good tidings of their eternal happiness. The Father has baptized this year some of this class, and they all live as true Christians. He might have expected the same success with many others, if he had had time enough to continue to instruct them, and at the same time attend the sick who have been very numerous, and many of whom died after receiving baptism.

#### MISSION OF THE CONCEPTION AT SONNONTOUAN.

Father Raffeix, who has charge of this mission writes as follows: "The great number of superstitions, which have gathered here with these tribes, which have taken refuge here after the destruction of their own country, raises up a very notable obstacle to the propagation of the gospel. The remoteness of the French, whose settlements the Senecas rarely visit, makes the teaching of our Faith seem strange to them, because they have never seen any one believe and practice it. Moreover libertinage and moral corruption which makes them publicly approve and praise all vices, do much to induce them to live like beasts, and make them insensible to all that concerns salvation. Not but that a very good natural disposition is observable in many, and that most of them are much less subject to their passions than Europeans. But where corrupt nature rules, men give way to bad example, and these rich natures which will one day do wonders, when virtue controls them, are as yet too weak to resist human respect. Few adults would die without receiving

baptism, if we could find them alone to instruct them ; but the shame of passing for Christians in the eyes of those who are not, is a great obstacle to their conversion. And for this reason I have been unable this year to baptize more than ten adults, who all died after receiving that blessing. Many of those who pray to God when they are alone in the chapel, would be ashamed to do so before those who do not pray. A young woman took poison in consequence of some grievous displeasure she had received. I went to see her in her cabin several times to speak to her of her salvation. Human respect sealed her lips. From time to time I took her remedies and some delicacies, that she might relish more easily what I said of God, and of the eternal happiness or misery of her soul. As long as her husband or mother was near her, she would not speak at all. I saw clearly that I must find her alone, and that very soon, for she was near her end. I went there sometimes so early or so late that I lost my way in the fields as I returned. At last one day when her husband was away, and her mother went for water, she opened her heart to me, praying to God with much fervor to pardon her sins. She then listened very voluntarily to the instructions I gave her, and prepared to receive baptism. All, it is true, are not so completely slaves of human respect. One of the sachems of the town called me to say : "Here are my niece and grand-daughter, who can do no more, they have lingered long. Tell them clearly, all about the prayer, so as to prepare them as well as you can to become Christians."

I should regret it deeply, if this old man, who is not yet baptized, should himself lose the grace, which two of his daughters, his niece and grand niece have received this year : and which, we have grounds to believe, they carried unsullied to heaven, for they died soon after baptism.

Traveling one day with a man who was returning from a war party, as I conversed with him on religion and the mys-

teries of faith, he related to me that one of the chiefs of their army, holding council near the enemy's country, had said that they must go fearlessly into action. "For my part," he continued, "I am far from entertaining any fear; for I know that nothing happens to us, except by the permission of him who is in heaven, whom I adore and whom I invoke since I embraced Christianity." Would that all possessed the same courage, and could rise above human respect.

I cannot express the pleasure which I felt on hearing an old man who had been a Christian for several years, and who does not belong in the country. "Ah," he said, "When will it be my happiness to remove to the country of Faith, among the French, and live no longer where God is not known and where he is so often offended? How happy should I live and die among my brethren, the Christians of Quebec or of la Prairie la Magdelaine? If I and my family do not soon leave this country, my son, my grand-daughter and my wife will be exposed to lose the faith amid this infidelity, and debauchery, whereas if they lived among Christians, they would be saved by following their good example." He has accordingly resolved, cost what it will, to set out a month hence to reside at Quebec. He will not accomplish it without great toil and difficulty. God has his predestined everywhere; but this good grain is still very rare in this country. It will be for fervent and zealous missionaries, who come here often to cultivate this ungrateful and sterile land, to make the seed yield a hundred fold.

Of the number of these predestined, are especially the little children, whom we endeavor never to allow to die unbaptized. I have conferred it on a great number this year. Fourteen of them died after receiving it. As they are our surest gain, they are also our greatest consolation.

The following extracts embrace all that is contained in the Relations concerning the Seneca Missions from 1673 to 1679:

## RELATION 1674.

"If Father Carheil does not sanctify himself as much as he desires, it is certain that he does so, as do Fathers Garnier and Raffeix in the towns of Seneca, which are the most remote from us, and also apparently from the Faith. However these two brave missionaries make many conquests from the enemy. Father Pierron has gone to join them to take care of a large town, which we have not been able hitherto to provide."

## RELATION 1675, MISSION AMONG THE IROQUOIS, CALLED SONNONTOUANS.

Fathers Pierron, Raffeix and Garnier, who labor in three different towns, are, so to say, obliged to carry their lives in their hands at all times, for they are in almost habitual danger of being massacred by those savages.

In fact, since the Senecas entirely defeated the Andastogues, who were their ancient and most formidable enemies, their insolence knows no bounds. They talk only of renewing the war against our allies, and even against the French, and beginning by the destruction of Fort Catarokoui. They not long since resolved to tomahawk Father Garnier, treating him as a sorcerer. They had not only selected, but even paid the man who was to strike the blow, and we should no longer possess this missionary had not God preserved him by a most singular Providence. All these insults do not prevent the Fathers from performing their functions boldly, giving instruction in their cabin and chapels, where they have baptized more than a hundred persons within a year, and they find that fifty, children and adults, die every year, after baptism. However, if these savages take up arms against us, as they threaten, our missions are in great danger, either of being ruined or at least interrupted, as long as the war lasts.

## RELATION 1676-7.

The upper Iroquois, that is to say, those whose lands are most remote from the French settlements, especially the Senecas and Cayugas, are the most haughty and insolent of all. They go so far as to pursue the missionaries tomahawk in hand, pelt them with stones, demolish their chapels and their little cabins, heaping on them a thousand other kinds of gross ill treatment.

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I can draw nothing else from the letters of Fathers de Carheil, Pierron, Raffeix and Garnier, who are among the upper Iroquois; their greatest and almost sole occupation is to suffer, and so to say, die each moment, under the blow of continual threats and insults which these savages necessarily breathe against them. In spite of all this, they have not neglected to wrest many souls from hell. For his part, Father Pierron has baptized since a year ago, ninety of these Indians, almost all children, of whom fifty died after baptism.

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In one town of the Senecas, where Father Garnier is, there have died within a year forty children and forty adults, baptized. As for Father Raffeix, who is in another town of the Senecas, he reports that he profited well by a pulmonary disorder with which God has chastised these savage inhabitants, and which carried off in a month sixty small children. "I have not spared myself in order to be able to obtain the grace of baptism for them, as well as for those adults whom God made known to be His in the course of this fatal malady."

## RELATION 1677-8.

Further on, Fathers Raffeix and Garnier, who are at Son-nontouan, and where the danger is greatest (because it is the nation which more especially desires war) have conferred

during this year baptism on two hundred and twelve, among whom there are more than seventy children, a part of whom have gone to increase the church triumphant."

Father Pierron<sup>1</sup> evidently was recalled in 1677, and Father Raffeix<sup>2</sup> some years later, leaving Father Julian Garnier<sup>3</sup> alone. DeMeules, writing to Siegnlay, July 8, 1684, says: "Father Garnier, a Jesuit, who was a missionary to the said

<sup>1</sup> Father JOHN PIERRON came to Canada June 27th, 1667, from the Province of Champagne, France. In 1668 when Father Fremin was sent to the Senecas, he was succeeded in the Mohawk canton by Father Pierron. In 1670, while in attendance at a council, a chief commanded him to leave, wishing to be free to perform some superstitious ceremony, which he knew the missionary would not approve. Pierron thought it expedient to show his displeasure; he even declared that he could no longer continue in a place where they did not hesitate to insult him, and would present the matter of his treatment to Onnontio. The same day the chiefs made public apologies for having insulted him, which the missionary accepted graciously, but expressed his regret at the indisposition shown to accept the great truths which he had announced to them, and added that he could no longer tolerate so many odd customs, nor their attachment to fables, the absurdity of which he had so often shown them; that since he was losing his time speaking to a people that would not hearken either to the voice of Heaven or that of reason, he considered it his duty to bear to other parts the word of God. This gave rise to much discussion and at the next grand council it was determined that thenceforward, no public invocation to Agreskoue would be permitted, or even a recognition as the Author of Life; that medicine men should not be called to see the sick; and that superstitious and indecent dances should be abolished. Garacontie, the Onondaga, rendered efficient aid in securing this result. In 1674 Pierron wintered in Acadia to attend the French on the coast, and examine as to the possibility of establishing Indian Missions there. He also in disguise traversed the English colonies from New England to Virginia and visited the Jesuit Fathers in Maryland. In 1673 he was sent to Gaudagaro of the Senecas and remained there until 1677. He returned to Europe in 1678. See Charlevoix 111, 163 and Relation 1671, pp. 5, 6.—J. S. C.

<sup>2</sup> Father PETER RAFFEIX arrived in ill health in Canada in 1663, (Sept. 22.) He was chaplain of the expedition of Courcelles and Tracy against the Mohawks in 1665; was appointed missionary to the Cayugas in 1666. In the following year he was at Isle Percée, and, after founding La-prairie, labored among the Cayugas and Senecas till 1680. He died at Quebec in 1723, broken down with years and toil.

<sup>3</sup> Father JULIAN GARNIER, was born at Conneral in the diocese of Mans, about 1643, and was a brother of the celebrated Benedictine Garnier. He came to Canada, while still a scholastic, in October 1662, and, after teaching some years, completed his studies, and was ordained in April, 1666. After passing with success his final examination in 1668, he was sent to the Iroquois missions, and labored at Oneida, Onondaga and Seneca. He probably returned as late as 1702 and died at Quebec in February, 1730. He was also apparently employed on the Algonquin Missions. Lafitau, who derived from him much of the matter of his work, speaks highly of his zeal and austerity.

Senecas, after being informed secretly of intention to make war, escaped in the said barque (one built by the Governor to trade on Lake Ontario), which was anchored in a little river seven leagues from their village, and where all the Iroquois used to come to trade."—[N. Y. Col. Doc. IX. p. 229.]

In November 1702, Mr. De Callieres announced that Father Garnier and Father Vaillant<sup>1</sup> had gone to the Senecas, accompanied by Captain De Maricourt, and some French men to arrange their establishment.—[ib. p. 737.] Garnier and Vaillant must have left soon after, as Garnier was sent back in 1703, (ib. 750;) and Vaillant in 1704, (ib. p. 762.) There was a missionary as late as 1706, (ib. p. 775.)

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<sup>1</sup> Father FRANCIS VAILLANT DE GUESLIS, came to Canada as a student in 1670, received holy orders at Quebec, December 1st, 1675, according to the *Liste Chronologique* and replaced Father Bruyas as Missionary at Tionnontoguen near present Canajoharie, in 1679. He was resident among the Mohawks in 1683, and accompanied Denonville's expedition against the Senecas in 1687, and in the beginning of 1688 visited Albany as Ambassador to Governor Dongan on the part of the Canadian Government; on which occasion he acquitted himself with ability.—*New York Council Minutes*, V. 211. At the conclusion of this negotiation he proceeded to Cataracouy, (present Kingston) escorted by two Indians, who were sent by Governor Dongan to prevent him having any intercourse with the Mohawks, his former flock. The breaking out of King William's war and the abandonment of Fort Cataracouy, drove him back to Canada, but after the peace he was sent in 1702-3 with Father Garnier on a mission to the Senecas, by whom he was deputed in 1704 to Governor Vaudreuil to demand satisfaction for a violation of the Treaty on the part of the Ottawas. He returned immediately to the Senecas and contributed to thwart the efforts of Col. Schuyler at Onondaga who sought to prevail on the Five Nations to expel the French missionaries.—Charlevoix II, 293-4. Father Vaillant was succeeded in 1707 in the Seneca Mission by the Rev. Father d'Heu, and returned to France in 1713.—O'Callaghan, N. Y., Col. History IX, 762.





SIXTH ANNUAL ADDRESS  
BY THE PRESIDENT,  
FEBRUARY 13, 1883.



## ADDRESS.

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In selecting a suitable topic for the address expected of me on this occasion, I have sought after the old rather than the new ; and shall say nothing, perhaps, not already familiar to you, at least not easily accessible to the ordinary historical student. My object will be to deal with Indian life, domestic and social, as known more particularly among the Iroquois ; and in continuance of the topic of my last annual address, which was of the origin and characteristic features of their tribal government. The subject is attractive, and has long been a favorite one with writers both of romance and of history. Indian life in its native freedom and wild habit, has all the charm with which the poet and the novelist have sought to invest it, while in the soberer view of the historian it is not without its lessons of permanent value.

This primitive life, however, has of late come to be studied in its scientific aspects ; and the Indian is scarcely a less conspicuous figure in the speculations of ethnography than he was wont to be in the ideal conceptions of poetry and romance. It is now the critical student that is found sitting at the feet of the red man, seeking light on some of the graver problems of our time. He also has acted his part in the story of man upon the earth. The principle of intelligence which belongs to the human being, with its ambitions and its rivalries, has found here, as in all parts of the globe, its sphere of operation as uniform and as characteristic of our common humanity in its prehistoric periods, as now. Hence the interest we have in habits and modes of

life peculiar to peoples that have flourished and passed away. And what is still more to our purpose, hence also, the practical philosophy, which grounded in the unity of mankind, holds true, far back as research may take us into primitive and archaic life, since we never get beyond the sources of a present civilization and never below the roots of all its blossoming.

It will be enough for my purpose to consider Indian life among the best known of our aboriginal tribes, and trace so far as we may be able, the connections between their social and civil institutions.

Here then was a people who in the classification of ancient society had not emerged from the lower status of barbarism; without the knowledge of the useful metals; content with implements and weapons characteristic of the Stone Age; without flocks or herds; living in bark houses; subsisting upon the products of the chase and a limited agriculture, and without distinctly defined ideas of personal property, but with the virtue and sagacity to frame a government, which had already stood in its republican simplicity, with no sign of decay or weakness, for two hundred years, when the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth. And yet it has taken scarcely a hundred years to obliterate all traces of their occupation of this region, so long their home and the seat of their power, except as the plough turns up some rude stone implement or a skeleton is laid bare in its unmarked grave. The articles of manufacture and ornament which would best represent their taste and skill or reveal the more kindly and delicate features of their home life, have, in the lapse of time, perished. It would be the same with the fairest rural village in Cayuga county, left of its inhabitants to the wasting influences of a like period. Little would remain, to tell of its family life or its characteristic industries. Only the coarser articles would survive to reward the curiosity of the antiqua-

rian, while the things that fill a home with comfort and attractiveness, would have vanished. If we knew no more of this aboriginal population than what time has spared, since their towns were burned and they were driven from the soil, our opinion of them would be as crude as it was unjust.

But as it is, we can re-people to the mind's eye these ancient sites of our American Stone Age; and reconstruct its villages, in the architecture and the order of their dwellings, with their peculiar social economies, modes of industry, sources of enjoyment, and characteristic conditions which made up their ordinary life. It is possible to draw the picture of an Indian home, with its family habit, the relations of the several members of the household to each other, its domestic nurture and virtues, without a touch of fancy or the faintest coloring of romance. Besides their own traditions, the more carefully preserved in the absence of a written language, we have ample testimony from intelligent and candid historical sources, attributing to them a character free not only from many of the vices that corrupt social life, but compact and strong in those native virtues which society is ever in danger of repudiating, and without which it falls to pieces.

This Indian life, we are to remember, followed the law after which society in its primitive forms, came to exist, and was as complete an expression of that law as any age or people has furnished. It adhered all through its social and political relations to the principle of kinship. The *gens* of the ancient Greeks and Romans, the kin as fixed in the maternal line, corresponds with the Indian clan. In civilization, with its multiplied interests and broader necessities, kinship gives place to citizenship. Greek and Roman society underwent this change. But citizenship was unknown among the Iroquois. The clan, composed of related families, with a common name and symbol, was the unit of their social and

political life. Thus all rights and privileges within the clan were distinctly defined and scrupulously observed. It shaped social custom, and stamped the habit and whole character of the people. Intermarriage within the same clan was forbidden. The husband became of the clan of his wife, which was according to the primal law of marriage as ordained in Eden, as Adam first looked upon Eve and called her woman: "Therefore shall a man forsake his father and his mother and shall cleave unto his wife." It removed marriage beyond the option of the parties. So grave a step could only be taken under the watchful eye of the mothers, when the parties were brought together, as were Isaac and Rebecca, in patriarchal times, and never thought of objecting to what had been done for them, as filial obedience was a paramount duty in an Indian home. It was, moreover, a necessity of Indian society which could not have been maintained with marriage as the result of mutual fancy or the passion of love as it might chance to spring up between two young lives. To have given it the freedom allowed in civilized usage, would have been to break up the structural basis of their social and tribal life.

The position accorded to their women by the Iroquois was one of singular influence. They were supreme in the household, not only for the necessities of which they did so much to provide, and in the care of the children for whose custody and nurture they were wholly responsible, but also in political affairs their opinions were held in greatest respect by sachems and warriors. Each clan elected its chief; but the power to nominate rested with the women, and their approval was necessary to the validity of the choice. This again was vital to the preservation of the clan in its integrity. The sachemship, partly hereditary and partly elective, followed the maternal line. Hence the son of a sachem could in no instance succeed his father in any official right or title,

because he was of his mother's clan. At the death of a sachem, the matron of the household to which he belonged, after due consultation with her own clan, selected as his successor, the one who seemed best qualified for the position, without regard to age or priority of birth. Moreover, each clan in a tribe was entitled to an assistant sachem, constituting a body, whose consent was necessary to public acts, and whose particular duty it was to protect the common treasury; and as in the case of a sachem he also was chosen by the women. There was also a class of officers entitled Keepers of the Faith, who had charge of the annual festivals, delivered religious discourses, and exercised a supervision over the morals of the people. Their functions were somewhat of the nature of a priesthood in which the women shared in numbers and authority, equally with the men. Indeed, in the transaction of all public business, the voice of the women was prominent and effective. They met in council by themselves, and made known to the chiefs the result of their deliberations, through their appointed representative, whose duty it was to advocate their views irrespective of his own opinions.

But in no regard, perhaps, were the women more tenacious of their rights, than in treaty stipulations for the alienation of lands, in which their consent was an essential condition. From time immemorial they were the acknowledged owners of the soil, for the reason that they cultivated it and husbanded its products. As an Oneida chief, speaking for the them in a council held at Albany as late as 1789, to protect the Iroquois from any further dispossession of their lands, said: "Our ancestors considered it a great transgression to reject the counsel of their women. Our ancestors considered them the mistresses of the soil. Our ancestors said, Who bring us forth? Who cultivate our lands? Who kindle our fires? Who boil our pots, but the women? The women say



let not the tradition of the fathers with respect to the women be disregarded. Let them not be despised. \* \* \* The female governesses beg leave to speak with that freedom allowed to women and agreeable to the spirit of our ancestors. They exhort the great chief to put forth his strength to preserve their peace, for they are the life of the nation." This is only one of many instances that could be cited of similiar import, showing the respect and dignity accorded to woman by a people, as estimated by social science, still in the lower status of barbarism.

The story of Pocahontas in the rescue of Capt. Smith, at the hazard of her life in the early days of Virginia, is well known. A similar incident occurred among the Oneidas, a hundred years ago. One of their tribe had been murdered by a white man, who had made his escape. The Indian law of atonement required the sacrifice in this instance of a white man, and after deliberating the matter in secret council, it was decided that the most suitable person as the victim, in consideration of his high position among white men, was James Dean,<sup>1</sup> though in his boyhood he had been adopted in the family of a chief. The decision was not reached until after several days of deliberation, and much opposition; and as a secret was disclosed to Mr. Dean by a friendly sachem. He kept the matter to himself, when one night after he had retired, he was aroused by the sound of the death whoop at a short distance from his house. He knew well what that meant, and for the first, made known his fears to his wife, but enjoined her to remain quiet in the room with the children asleep. He calmly met the Indians at the door and seated them in an adjoining room. They numbered eighteen, and all chiefs or head men of the tribe. The principal sachem informed him that they had come to take his

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<sup>1</sup> Judge Dean was one of the most prominent men in the early history of Oneida County not only, but of Western New York.

life for that of their murdered tribesman and that he must prepare to die. He replied showing how unjust it was, he being an adopted son of the Oneidas, to require his blood in reparation for a wrong done by a white man, and concluded with a manly appeal for the sake of his wife and children. They listened with grave attention, and as he sat down one of the chiefs made reply. He rejoined and the debate lasted into the night, without change of mind in the council, when, as he was about to submit to his doom as inevitable, the sound of a footstep came from outside. All eyes were fixed upon the door and as it opened an Indian woman entered, the wife of the senior chief and the foster-mother of Mr. Dean at the time of his adoption into the tribe. She took her place at the door and looked on in silence. A moment after another woman entered, and she also the wife of a chief who was present. Soon still another came in; each stood wrapped closely in her blanket, but said nothing. At length the presiding chief bid them withdraw and leave the council to go on with its business. The wife replied that the council must change its determination, and let the white man, their friend and her adopted son, alone. The order was repeated to be gone, when each of the women threw off her blanket and showed a knife in her extended hand declaring that if one hair of the white man's head was touched, they would each bury their knives in their heart's blood. The council was struck with awe and regarding the whole scene as an intimation of the will of the Great Spirit, the decree was reversed on the spot and the life of their victim saved.<sup>1</sup>

I have been able only to select here and there among the mass of testimony, from authentic sources, to illustrate the place of woman in Indian society. She was far from being the servile drudge, which she is commonly represented to

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<sup>1</sup> See *Notices of Men and Events connected with the Early History of Oneida County*, by William Tracy. Utica, N. Y., 1838.

have been ; but in the fair distribution of duties, incident to this primitive life, only took her proper share. Compared with the labors which devolved upon the wives and daughters of the early settlers of the country, she had the easier lot, while her influence in many respects was more potential. Speaking of the Iroquois, the Jesuit missionary Lafitau, with large opportunities of observation and study of aboriginal life, says : "There is nothing more real than this superiority of the women. It is they who constitute the tribe, keep up the genealogical tree and the order of inheritance, and perpetuate the family. They possess all real authority ; own the land and the fields and their harvests ; they are the soul of all councils, the arbiters of peace and war ; they have care of the public treasury ; slaves are given to them ; they arrange marriages ; the children belong to them and to their blood is confined the line of descent and the order of inheritance. The men, on the other hand, are wholly isolated and restricted to their personal affairs ; their children are strangers to them and when they die everything comes to an end, as it is only the women who can keep up and perpetuate the family. If there are only men in a household, no matter in what numbers nor how many children they may have, it is doomed, and although by courtesy they are made chiefs, and public business is transacted by a council of old men, yet they act merely as the representative of the woman to aid her in those affairs in which it would not be becoming for her to appear and act for herself."<sup>1</sup>

The clan then is the key to Indian life. It conserved all rights and constituted a kind of home government for all local interests. Besides, it gathered to itself the associations and memories which give sacredness and value to human life, with its special religious observances and separate burial

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<sup>1</sup> *Moeurs des Sauvages Amériquains*, Vol. I. pp. 71, 72 : Paris 1724.

place. It was the most natural and the freest form of society possible among men. It promoted liberty while it secured personal rights. Based upon lineage sedulously guarded, with pride of ancestral name and deeds, its whole influence was to foster that self-possessed independence and dignity which have always marked the Indian character.

Between the clan and the tribe was the brotherhood, composed of two or more clans, but with no official head and no functions of government. It served, however, in useful ways to harmonize disputes and cement the social bond. In the sports and games which entered largely into Indian life, the match was between chosen players from two of the brotherhoods, not unlike a modern base ball game or an university boat race. At the funerals of prominent persons, the ceremonies were conducted by members of another brotherhood, than that to which the deceased belonged, while they of his own brotherhood acted, in a body, as mourners.<sup>1</sup>

But not to dwell longer upon these distinctive features of Iroquois society, it is enough to say, that by such affinities were the several tribes held in union and blended in their political league, which rested in the faith of kindred and was capable of indefinite expansion. Unity would keep pace with enlargement, and widely as their council fires might be kindled, one sentiment would rule their deliberations and one spirit animate the entire political household.

It has been observed more especially of Iroquois life, that it was largely communistic. They not only lived in compact villages, but their homes were so constructed as to accommodate several families, each with separate apartments, and all after one model, the Long House, which was the type of their League. All the families under one roof were of the same

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<sup>1</sup> Morgan (*Houses and House Life of the American Aborigines*, p. 13) gives an illustration of this usage in the funeral ceremonies of a prominent sachem of the Senecas, at which he was present.

clan, the symbol or totem of which was painted on the house. Whatever was gained by the men in hunting or fishing, or by the women in the cultivation of the soil or the ingathering of the native fruits, went into the common household store, and each one was expected to contribute his or her share to the common support. Both economy and system prevailed in all their domestic affairs, under the supervision of a matron or stewardess, whose duty it was to distribute the food when prepared, and carefully guard against extravagance and waste. The women ruled the home. Everything favored the mother's influence. Her's was the family name and the children were of her clan. The father was much from home, attending to public affairs if a sachem, or pursuing the chase or on the war path. His attachment for his sons grew out of companionship, rather than from any share in their early training, which was confided to the watchful affection of the mother. There are many touching instances of the maternal tenderness given in the narratives of the Jesuit missionaries, while I do not now recall a single allusion to such paternal instinct. They often refer to the extraordinary affection of the Indian mother for her offspring, not only in their nurture, but in the grief evinced when forced to part with them by death. I give a single instance as related by Father James Fremin, one of the earliest of the Iroquois missionaries. He had baptized a young Seneca maiden of one of the more distinguished families, of the village Totiacton, only the day before her death. The mother was inconsolable; and notwithstanding the assurance that her daughter had entered upon the fair inheritance of the Christian paradise, refused to be comforted. In vain did the good missionary speak to her of the joy and happiness of the place. "Thou dost not understand," was this mother's reply. "My daughter was a mistress here and had command of more than twenty slaves, who are still with me. She

never knew what it was to go to the forest to bring wood or to the river to draw water. She knows nothing at all of housework. She is the only one of our family in the Christian's heaven. She will have much trouble to accustom herself to the change, for she will have to cook her own food and provide with her own hands what she needs to eat and drink. Truly, is she not to be pitied in having no one to serve her in that place? Thou seest one of my slaves here who is sick. I beg thee to instruct her fully. Show her the path to heaven, lest by any means she miss the way, that she may go and lodge with my daughter and take care of her that she be free from toil and trouble."

Here was a family of high social grade among the Senecas, with a score of slave women, captive Hurons, or of some other subjugated tribe, in which at least the daughters were brought up delicately after the manner of wealth and independence. And the grief of this Indian mother so tender and simple, following the shade of her child to the land of the Hereafter, moves us none the less, perhaps the more, for the reason that it could not divest itself of the traditional idea of future blessedness, and can only think of the fond spirit a lone stranger in the Christian's paradise.

This household life, moreover, regulated in strict accordance with the needs of its families and with scarcely a trace of individual ownership, recognized not only the ordinary duties of neighborly kindness, but also the claims of a common humanity. They made no special provision for their poor and infirm in anything like a system of public charity, but had what gave more effective relief and was more congenial to their social condition. The law of hospitality, which was universal among them, took the place of all such provisional arrangements and made it needless. When any person, whether a neighbor or an entire stranger entered an Iroquois house, food was set before him as a first duty and

the sign of welcome. If hungry, he would eat ; if not, would merely taste the food, but would not fail to recognize the courtesy and thank the host. This would be repeated in every house he might enter, and at any hour of the day. It was demanded by a rigorous public sentiment, and came from a principle fundamental to their religious faith, which was that the Great Master of Life, made the earth and all it contains for the common good ; and when he filled the forests with game and the waters with fish, the gift was a common boon, and every one was entitled to his share. The same was true of the fruits of the ground, whether they grew wild or were cultivated ; for whatever agency man might have in procuring or producing them, his labor was nothing without the favor of the Good Giver. This hospitality which ever tended to regulate the inequality of condition was more than a social custom ; it was a stern religious duty. They carried it to the extent of self-denial, rather than the stranger or needy should suffer.

I have recently had access to an unpublished journal of Cammerhoff and Ziesberger, Moravians, of their visit through the Iroquois cantons as late as 1750, which is replete with evidences of the kindness and courtesy with which they were uniformly treated as they passed from village to village, both by the principal men and the people at large. Everywhere a cordial welcome greeted them. Everywhere they were made to feel at home. The best the house afforded was at their disposal, while they had frequent occasion to note the native grace and even high social qualities with which they were entertained by those in position and influence. True they saw some painful things, for this was a hundred years after the white man had sought to corrupt the Indian for purposes of gain and when events were conspiring for the fatal catastrophe, which was to overwhelm their homes and sweep them from the soil. But neither the wrongs which had already excited

their distrust and began to inflame their revenge, nor the vices which were undermining their native virtues, had been able to efface their characteristic kindness and hospitality. Referring to the tenacity with which they adhered to this ancient law of hospitality, Morgan, who remains our highest authority on Iroquois institutions, political and social,<sup>1</sup> says, "it was in exact accordance with the unparalleled generosity of the Indian character. No test of friendship was too severe; no sacrifice to repay a favor too great; no fidelity to an engagement too inflexible for the red man. With an innate knowledge of the freedom and dignity of man, he has exhibited the noblest virtues of the heart and the kindest deeds of humanity in those sylvan retreats we are wont to look back upon as vacant and frightful solitudes." This is high praise, and to some ears, may sound like partial and indiscriminate eulogy. But though in contrast with the popular judgment long since pronounced upon the Indian, it is the verdict of the most candid and careful research, and is accepted by scholars who have made social science the study of their lives. It is not mere sentiment, but the verdict of history that entitles this primitive people to our regard. It accords with the whole structure of their society and the spirit which animated their body politic. No government like that they maintained through the vicissitudes of centuries of national life, could have had a basis less secure. Their legislation was simple and the penalties which gave law its sanctions well defined. Their League stood in the consent of the governed. It was a representative, popular government, conceived in the wisdom of genuine statesmanship, and with the sagacity to provide against some of the dangers which beset popular institutions.

No emoluments were attached to the public service, and

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<sup>1</sup> The works principally consulted in the preparation of this address, are the *Iroquois League*, *Ancient Society*, and *Houses and House Life among the Aborigines of America*.



the popular esteem was the sole reward of the faithful servant. In the absence of written statutes and a technical system of jurisprudence, the offender against public justice found a sure and speedy punishment in the shame and contempt that crushed him beyond the hope of pardon. Their very language, we are told by those most familiar with its structure, forbade ambiguity or perversion. The native eloquence of their orators, which has become historic, derives its power and grace from that entire sympathy in thought and feeling, with Nature, as well as tranquil faith in all her moods and phases, which is the one characteristic trait of the Indian and more than all other differences, separates him from civilized man. They spoke in pictures and symbols, clothed in direct and simple phrase, and with the wampum belt as their witness, no parchment treaty could have been more sacred, nor recorded oath more binding. In all their intercourse with the colonies, French, Dutch or English, never were they the first to violate public faith; and it should not be forgotten that it was their fidelity to their covenant with the British crown, that cost them their nationality and the whole of their fair domain.

Their religious faith was as simple as it was pervasive and dominant. It centered in one supreme Master of life, to whom they owed their being and on whom they were dependent for present and future good: who ruled the world and was the special guardian of the red man. He made known his will in dreams and visions, which were of absolute authority over conduct and life. They had no day or place set apart for religious teaching, but were governed in their public devotions by the seasons of the year, or any like occasion for special recognition of the goodness of the Supreme One. There were festive periods, given to gratitude and rejoicing. They commenced with the early spring, when the buds began to swell upon the trees and the birds filled the woods with

song, and the maple gave forth its sweet waters; then also at time of planting, that Nature might fulfill her promise of bounty; then too at the first appearance of the summer fruits; and again as the green corn was ready for use, followed by the autumnal festival which commemorated the general harvest. But the great jubilee of the year occurred in mid-winter, and continued five days with elaborate ceremonies. It celebrated the supreme belief, or most excellent faith, to use their own title, the bond between them and the Master of Life. The Iroquois had also his seasons of fasting; but these were personal and private, confined usually to critical periods of temptation or responsibility, in entering upon new duties and obligations, or passing out of youth into manhood or womanhood. These manitou fasts have given rise to some of the most poetic legends of Indian lore.

One of these, given in detail by Schoolcraft, is incorporated by Longfellow in the song of Hiawatha, telling how he

" Prayed and fasted in the forest,  
 Not for greater skill in hunting,  
 Not for greater craft in fishing,  
 Not for triumphs in the battle  
 And renown among the warriors ;  
 But for profit of the people ;  
 For advantage of the nations."

In the frequent rehearsal of these legends by the fireside, and on public occasions, each generation became familiar with the national traditions and the lessons of virtue and heroism which they inspired. They furnished the springs of action, rules of conduct and of restraint, so potential in Indian character and life, as exhibited in "the generous friendships, the integrity between man and man, the harmony of intercourse and sympathy of heart, which bloomed and flourished in the depths of the forest."

In this review of the domestic and social life of a barbarous people, my object has been not so much their vindication

from a false or superficial judgment, as to illustrate the vital connection that holds, alike in rude and civilized society, between political forms and social conditions. Society was before government, and the family existed before either. Hence free institutions are more dependent upon the home virtues than upon breadth of intelligence, and may take root and grow strong, where science and the arts, peculiar to civilization, are unknown. If the barbarian can teach this lesson, he may serve also to correct the delusion that superior culture implies superior virtue, or that the race we claim for our own, necessarily transcends in quality, races which have flourished and passed away.

SEVENTH ANNUAL ADDRESS

BY THE PRESIDENT,

FEBRUARY 12, 1884.



## ADDRESS.

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It is a custom into which we have fallen, rather than a duty provided for in the constitution, that the President make an address at each annual meeting. How long it may be advisable to continue the practice, is becoming with me a very serious question, unless the society will adopt the principle of rotation in this office, and distribute the service. You have honored me with this position from the origin of our association, and this will be my seventh annual address, which is given with no little solicitude lest it should come short of my own standard even or of your just expectation. In the subjects hitherto presented, I have been content to follow in the path marked out by those, who, with patience and for scholarly ends, have devoted themselves to original investigations. With me they have been only occasional side studies, by way of recreation, in the midst of duties more exacting; and at these annual meetings, I have attempted hardly more than to acquaint others with the sources of information, which have afforded me so much pleasure and instruction.

In each preceding address, it has been my desire to deal with some one of the various phases of primitive life, to determine, if possible, what it has to teach of man in his social, intellectual and moral development, and thus of human progress. This I regard to be the chief use and value of history—that which gives it its deserved place in all true education. “Why do we want to know history?” asks an eminent scholar of our time; and his suggestive answer to the

question is quite to my purpose. "Why do we want to know history? \* \* \* Simply because all of us and every one of us, ought to know how we have come to be what we are, so that each generation need start again from the same point and toil over the same ground; but profiting by the experience of those who came before, may advance toward higher points and nobler aims. As a child when growing up, might ask his father, or grandfather, who had built the house they lived in, or cleared the fields that yielded them their food, so we ask the historian whence we came and how we came into possession of what we call our own. History may tell us afterward many useful and amusing things—gossip such as a child might like to learn from his mother or grandmother; but what history has to teach us before all and everything, is our own antecedents, our own ancestry, our own descent."<sup>1</sup>

It is this modern and sensible idea of the province of history that has given origin to societies like this, founded and maintained for the purpose of gathering the material for such teaching, that we may know who were before us in the region where we dwell; what sort of men and women had their homes on the soil we now occupy; through what peril and hardship they carved these goodly farms out of the wilderness, or from what feeble beginnings they founded the towns and cities we inhabit, and planted the institutions, social, industrial, literary and religious, which we cherish and would preserve. It is to the same end that the American people, now at the close of the first hundred years since their independence was won, have recently had rehearsed the tragic story of what it cost to establish free government in this land. Nor do we stop with this first century of national life, if we would know how we have come to be the people we are—

<sup>1</sup> A lecture delivered at Cambridge, July, 1882, on *What Can India Teach us?* by F. Max Müller.

out of what commingling of race, sprang the men who crossed the seas to make this new world their home, or out of what struggle and pain was born the freedom they brought to these shores.

But why pause even here, or at any of the great historic periods which are marked by the origin of nations, so long as we are confronted by a still remoter past in which peoples have lived, but of whom history is silent. May we not, nevertheless, know something of them also, that will be profitable to us? Is it mere curiosity that tempts the student into the obscurity of this prehistoric period, to dig among its barrows and cromlechs, open its graves and explore its mounds, gather and classify its relics? They have a story to tell, and it becomes the more important that we read it rightly, because of its bearing upon grave problems, that reach back to the origin of man and cover the period during which he has been an occupant of the earth. The question is, can we read rightly this unwritten history apart from its connections with written history? Are there any grounds of comparison between these peoples of prehistoric date and peoples who have a place in history, which may serve to correct the merely speculative theories of science? We are familiar with the attempts in this direction to derive man from a very low origin, and as a necessity in his slow evolution, to assign him an antiquity that transcends indefinitely the commonly accepted date of his original creation. Thus far we have speculation only for either of these theories in their purely scientific aspects, which leave them as far as ever from satisfactory solution. As for the origin of the human species from a lower order of being, the standing difficulty is that there remains a well-defined gap in this line of descent, which no discovery of natural history has been able to close. The connection remains to be supplied. It is still the "missing link," despite the anxious search all along the whole line



of Nature's recorded genealogies. Man stands alone, a distinct creation. His arboreal progenitor is still to the eye of science a mythical creature, and until the mysterious anthropoidal ape, for whom some sanguine theorists would claim the honor of being the immediate ancestor of the human race, comes to light, we are not required to trace our descent farther back than Adam in the garden of Eden.

Neither have we cause to be disturbed, by any facts as yet disclosed by archæological research, in the long accepted belief, that gives to man a comparatively limited period upon the earth, with a nobler beginning in his moral and spiritual conditions than he was able to maintain. We have a historical record, to say nothing here of its authority or even its authenticity, which covers this ground; and we are quite willing that it should be subjected to all the tests known to historical criticism. This book of Genesis is in agreement with archæology at the one point that man began his existence without a knowledge of the arts; but it also accounts for his acquisition of them on a very different basis from the assumption that society itself is an evolution from the lowest status of savagery. It recognizes a lapse from a primitive condition, at which one part of mankind sank into barbarism, while the other, through discovery and invention, acquired arts and civilization in a very moderate period of time, at longest not more than seven generations from the father of the race.

Thus it is noted when and by whom pastoral life was established, one of the marked transitions toward human progress in the classification of social science; and in this ancient record, we have the name of Jabal as "the father of such as dwell in tents and of such as have cattle." It was his brother Jubal who invented the harp and the organ, the first of both stringed and wind musical instruments. Then, too, the use of the metals in the arts, has been considered by all writers

on ancient society as the distinctive mark of civilization ; and so we read of Tubal-cain as "an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron." We are not to suppose that then, more than now, these and kindred discoveries and inventions were at once perfected, or that these men, without previous hint or help from others, conceived and brought into use, by their unaided genius, the arts of civilized life. The essential point as bearing on this discussion is, that these arts, which indicate an advanced social condition, existed at this very early period in the history of the race.

Now as we enter what is termed the prehistoric age, one striking feature meets us everywhere, in the identity of the prevalent arts, as seen in the wrought material, in pattern, in decoration and use, intimating also the frailer products of still other arts, as spinning and weaving, that have perished. They indicate not only a common origin to mankind, but also a mental activity in the way of invention and discovery not surpassed in some subsequent periods, and, perhaps, not equalled except in modern days. It is a fair inference from archæological discovery alone, that in physical characteristics and intellectual capacity, this prehistoric race was not inferior to races of men whose achievements have given them a distinguished place in history.

Not to enter here upon the question still in dispute among scholars, as to which of the continents was first peopled, I will only say that as geology declares the American continent to be the oldest in physical formation and convenience for human habitation—and the eastern portion of it still older than the western—so archæology finds here a rich field to reward its labors with some peculiar advantages, perhaps, for valuable results. This is certainly true within the limits of Indian antiquity ; and to one acquainted with the writings of such careful authors as Wilson, Dawson, Brinton and Hale, the facts detailed in the more promi-

ment of the English and French publications, from which such startling conclusions have been drawn as to primitive man in Europe, "appear like a new edition of a familiar story." For if archaic remains are to be used as evidence to determine human conditions, then the Stone Age of Britain, France, and western Europe, had its counterpart in Indian life in America less than four centuries ago.

When Jacques Cartier, the earliest of the French explorers, sailed up the St. Lawrence in 1534, he found where Quebec now stands, an Indian strong-hold, known as Stadacona. He was received by its chief Dannaconna, in state, with twelve canoes and a long speech, accompanied by many signs of friendship and good will. Farther up the river was the larger Indian town of Hochelaga, occupying the present site of Montreal, with here and there a hamlet or fishing station along its banks. No little artifice was employed by this Indian ruler, to prevent the strangers from proceeding farther, as if he were desirous of retaining for Stadacona whatever advantage might accrue from a commercial intercourse thus opened. He portrayed, with all the eloquence of sign language, the dangers of the further navigation of the river; and after a feast with a solemn dance and song, drew a circle in the sand about Cartier and his companions, in token that they were to remain where they were; and as a pledge of friendship and alliance, presented him with a girl and two boys from the more distinguished families of the town. Seeing that the bold sailor was not thus to be dissuaded from his purpose, the chief finally resorted to the sanctities of religion and three medicine men, with blackened faces, dressed in dog skins and huge horns on their heads, appeared suddenly in a canoe, as messengers from the Great Spirit, with the tidings that, on no account, must the voyagers proceed farther up the river as certain destruction awaited them at Hochelaga, as a judgment upon their

temerity. Still the adventurous Briton was not to be deterred from further exploration, and after a toilsome journey of thirteen days, in his smaller boats, reached Hochelaga, located back from the river, and near the foot of the mountain that overlooks the chief city of Canada, and to which it gave its name. Here he was received also with all the cordiality and courteous marks of Indian hospitality. A thousand people—men, women and children—met him at the place of landing, known as the St. Mary's suburb of the modern city; and the next day, October 3, he was conducted together with his company, to the town, which was inclosed in a circle of palisades and surrounded with broad fields of corn just ready for the harvest, bordered by magnificent forests, now beginning to assume their splendid autumnal hues. In the center of the town, was an open square where the men arranged themselves in a circle about their guests, made to sit on the ground, while the women and young maidens each brought a mat with which they carpeted the space assigned the visitors. When all were seated, the head chief appeared, born on men's shoulders, with little to distinguish him from the others, but with the dignity and bearing becoming his position. The customary courtesies were exchanged, and after an appropriate religious service on the part of the French, various presents were distributed, as hatchets and knives for the warriors, beads and other ornaments for the women, and suitable trinkets for the children. This was followed by a bountiful supply of food in return, when the strangers were conducted back to their boats with every demonstration of friendship and good will.

Here then as at Stadacona, Cartier found a people as primitive, and as far as utensils and implements suggest analogies, very like the old Flint Folk of his native France, of whom all knowledge had perished in his day, but who have since figured with no little effect in the conjectures of archæology concerning prehistoric men.

But a little more than a hundred years pass away since Cartier's hospitable reception at Hochelaga, and when the French colonists had fixed upon the eligible site for Montreal, as one of their three settlements in Canada, when not a visible trace remained of its former occupation. The forest had usurped the broad and cultivated maize fields, and all evidence that the spot had once been peopled, lay as securely buried beneath the soil, as if it had belonged to the prehistoric age. Indeed, Cartier's narrative remained the only historical record of its Indian occupation, until recent excavations in extending the modern city, disclosed the remains of the former town which, but for the narrative of this early French explorer, might have been assigned an indefinite antiquity and as belonging to an extinct race.<sup>1</sup>

As early as in 1609, and only sixty years after the date of Cartier's discovery, Champlain went over the same route and makes no mention of Hochelaga, which had doubtless been swept away in some one of the native wars, waged to adjust the balance of power on this continent, before European colonization began. Hochelaga the predecessor of Canada's chief city, and Stadacona, that of its world renowned fortress, as late as Cartier's day, constituted the political headship of a group of contiguous tribes, hemmed in by the aggressive Iroquois nations on the south and the fierce Algonquins on the north. But before the period of French colonization which began with Champlain early in the seventeenth century, these people had disappeared, and the territory they once occupied had become an uninhabited space, between the Iroquois and the Algonquin tribes.

But centuries before Cartier's discovery of the St. Lawrence, and within a thousand years from our own time, according to native tradition, the ancestors of the Huron

<sup>1</sup>See *Fossil Men and their Modern Representatives* by J. W. Dawson, LL. D., etc., pp. 70-80.

Iroquois family had dwelt in that vicinity, or still farther east and nearer the mouth of the great river. As their numbers increased, dissensions arose, and band after band moved off to the south and west. This brought them in collision with other peoples, especially with the barbarous Algonquins, until both races were compelled, for a time, at least, to unite their forces against a common enemy in the Alleghan or Mound Builders, a semi-civilized nation whose territory extended from the valley of the Ohio into portions of western New York.

A long and desperate warfare ensued, lasting about a hundred years, which ended in the overthrow of the Alleghans, their expulsion from the ancient seat of their power, and the blotting of their name from the roll of nations. True this is tradition and not history, but it is not without a series of archæological facts which sustain it, together with the evidence of language which has recently become such an important factor in the solution of this problem of races, in their relative priority and in their distinctive features. It will serve at least to give us a glimpse into a long and bloody struggle between opposing races for supremacy, of which this continent was the scene, and in which a higher form of civilization was supplanted and many of its characteristic arts perished. Such a history is suggestive. It implies primitive civilization fading into barbarism, until it should be replaced by some new culture. The Alleghans of the Ohio and Mississippi, had their council fires quenched long before Cortez attacked the new Mexican Empire of the Aztecs, and it is now quite generally conceded that the Spanish conquerer supplanted a higher civilization than he established.

I can scarcely touch here upon the evidence that America, before its discovery by Columbus, was undergoing a process of degeneracy, and that over wide areas the age of civilization preceded that of barbarism. In the Lake Supe-

rior copper mining regions, for example, Dr. Wilson tells us of ancient excavations long since deserted and overgrown with aboriginal forest. The tools of the ancient miners who worked them, have been unearthed and are quite like those found in the ancient copper mines of Wales, in Staffordshire, and in the north of Ireland as well as in Spain and Saxony.<sup>1</sup> Masses of native copper, one of which is said to have weighed six tons, had been dislodged and abandoned as if the miners had been driven away by some hostile invasion.

These ancient mines are said to be found over an extent of nearly 150 miles on the south side of Lake Superior, and are found, though on a smaller scale, on the north side of the lake. Indeed, these people had explored all the rich localities of native copper, recently re-discovered; and their product had, by methods of aboriginal traffic, been dispersed over the whole continent, to the gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic coast. There must have been quite an extensive internal commerce in the raw material as well as in the manufactured article. The red pipe stone found only in a single quarry at the head waters of the Missouri, found its way to other and remote regions, as far as New York. Plates of mica quarried in the Appalachian districts are found in abundance distributed over the plains of the Mississippi and the Ohio, and were used as ornaments and perhaps as mirrors. Flint was transported great distances from where it abounded to where it was scarce; and large deposits of disc-shaped pieces have been discovered, as if the material had been stored up for transportation to be worked as needed. So with various articles now found distributed over the length and breadth of the continent, evincing an internal trade with general thrift and peace.<sup>2</sup> These mining arts

<sup>1</sup> *Fossil Men*, etc., p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter VI. of *Fossil Men*, etc., entitled, "Lost Arts of Primitive Races."

with the manufacture of the metals, became lost to the Indian. Similar changes in other respects and all tending to degradation, are in direct contradiction to the theories held with so much confidence of the primitive barbarism and semi-brutal character of man. There are facts in the old world also, which would point in the same direction. For example, the wild Veddahs are known to be a degraded branch of the great Aryan family to which the civilized Hindoo belongs. The Hottentots and even the Bushmen of South Africa, can be shown by language and by customs, to be the degenerate descendants of that great Ethiopian nation which, in upper Egypt, founded one of the oldest known civilized kingdoms.

"To suppose," says Dr. Dawson, (who is my authority for the more important of the foregoing statements), "that the savage hunters of our day are the primeval type of man, is one of the most unfounded assumptions of that materialistic philosophy which degrades the intellect as well as the right feeling of our time. At the same time, it has been the policy of this philosophy to gather up and parade all that is discreditable and low in the condition and manners of the modern savages, so as to approximate him as nearly as possible to brutes, and exhibit him as the existing representative of our prehistoric ancestors. Thus there is created at once a double prejudice hostile to true views of human origin and history and to the brotherhood of humanity, as well as to its spiritual relations and higher aspirations."<sup>1</sup>

The expulsion of the mound builders, left their territory to be occupied as circumstances might indicate. That branch of the Huron-Iroquois stock familiarly known as the Five Nations, held the head waters flowing from the south, which determined their ultimate habitation. Their starting point, and before their consolidation into separate tribes, was at the mouth of the Oswego river, and their first migration extended

<sup>1</sup> *Fossil Men*, etc., pp. 68, 69.



to the Hudson, when the main portion retraced their steps to the Mohawk, where they took up their abode along the streams and the upper waters of the Hudson. Gradually and in bands, which afterward grew into tribes, the migrations were westward, halting at points inviting settlement from their natural advantages, indicated by streams and lakes, until they became five tribes or nations, each adopting a significant name, with separate dialects, but differing slightly from the common language and a well defined territory.<sup>1</sup> Here again, we have an illustration of the law of decadence, not from culture to barbarism, but within the limits of barbarism itself, which, though destitute of the arts that distinguish civilized life, admits of the virtues which are a necessity of society and the strength of nations. Long before Columbus had sailed for the new world, this people had consummated their famous league, admitted to have been a master piece of political wisdom as humane as it was wise. It was the outgrowth, as I endeavored to make plain in my last annual address, of their domestic and social life. It was framed, not only in the interest of union, but for the sake of peace, both among themselves and with the other native nations, with some of which they had been in long and bitter conflict. There were those of their sachems and warriors who were weary of these hereditary strifes and anxious that they should cease. The founders of the league, however, had in view a still broader design, inspired by the hope that, if peace was secured with the other tribes, it might lead to union with them also, and thus its advantages might become universal. They named the league "The Great Peace," and called themselves "The People of the Long House"—a house so planned that it might be lengthened as fast and as far as the contiguous nations were willing to dwell under its one roof. It was simply the larger idea suggested by their

<sup>1</sup> See the *Iroquois Book of Rites* edited by Horatio Hale, M. A., etc. etc., p. 13.

domestic life. Every Iroquois house was constructed to accommodate several families of the same clan; and to provide for an additional family, it was only necessary to add to the length of the house the required apartments, without any farther change in its arrangements. Each house therefore, in all of their villages, was built after this one plan, and was an ever present type or symbol of their confederacy, which rested in the faith of kindred and embraced, for the purposes of government, one political family. It was not an unreasonable hope cherished by Hiawatha and his fellow-councillors, that the Long House, first built to shelter in mutual peace the five contiguous tribes, might in time, be extended to include the other Indian nations, nearly all of whom had a similarly constituted tribal life, though with less compact and permanent governments. The principle of Union, having its germ in the clan (which is the key to Indian life, social and political) and effective in the league for the common defense and welfare, was capable of this indefinite expansion. It was in this regard, not unlike our own federal constitution framed for the original states, but providing for the admission of new states on equal terms and protective of the common rights of all. It is said that the framers of our own government borrowed some of its features from this Indian league. Whether or not this be true, it is a matter of history that as early as 1755, a suggestion came from the Iroquois nation to the colonies that they should unite in a confederacy like their own, for mutual protection.

These primitive statesmen may have been in advance of their day, in seeking to embody such a lofty idea in political forms. That the league, however, in its original conception, included this amicable and generous purpose, there can be no doubt; and its failure to compass what must be regarded as the highest and noblest end of all human insti-

tutions, will not detract from our respect for these heroes and law-givers of the Stone Age.

Besides, this failure was not for the lack of earnest and persistent effort to this end.<sup>1</sup> No sooner was the Great Peace well established than measures were taken to induce other tribes to come into union or to form an alliance. An embassy was sent to the distant Cherokees, the hereditary enemies of the Iroquois, with proposals of peace and a cordial invitation to share the Long House; but for reasons which do not appear in the history of the negotiation, the proposition was declined.

Another deputation was sent to the western Algonquins, which met with favor and resulted in a friendly alliance which was preserved inviolate two hundred years, when through French interference it was impaired though not entirely broken up. The door at either end of the Long House, was kept open, as a hospitable welcome to any well disposed tribe desiring the proffered union.

The reasons which would operate against the alliance with or incorporation into the confederacy, rose out of the rivalries and jealousies which provoke war. This people of the Long House, much as they might desire to be at peace with their neighbors, were drawn into repeated and devastating wars which were not, in the first instance, of their own seeking. They made early treaties with the Dutch and English and kept them to the last. The first knowledge they had of the French colonists, was in the successive invasions of their territory under the lead of Champlain with his Indian allies. As Mr. Hale says in his defense of the Iroquois character, "this stroke of evil policy which tarnished an illustrious name, left far-reaching consequences affecting the future of half a

<sup>1</sup> This is conclusively shown by Mr. Hale in that portion of his Introduction to *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, devoted to the League and its Founders, (pp. 18-33), to which the reader is referred.

continent. Its first result was the destruction of the Hurons, the special allies and instigators of the colonists, in their hostilities. The Attiwandaronks, or Neutrals, with whom, till this time, the Iroquois had maintained peaceful relations, shared the same fate; for they were the friends of the Hurons and the French. The Eries perished in a war provoked, as the French missionaries in their always trustworthy accounts, inform us, by a perverse freak of cruelty on their own part."<sup>1</sup> Still in each of these instances the Iroquois adhered to their ancient policy, which was to incorporate into their cantons their subjugated enemies, and whole villages composed of Hurons, and Eries and Neuters, were gathered within their territory which Mr. Hale justly characterizes as the "Great Asylum" of the Indian tribes; and what the persuasions of peace failed to secure, followed, in part, the necessities of war.

When the Tuscaroras were expelled from North Carolina by the English, they found refuge with the Iroquois and became the sixth nation of the confederacy; the Tuteloes, the Saponos and others of the Dakota stock still farther south, fleeing from their enemies, sought the shelter of the Long House, and were not denied. So of the Delawares, Mohegans and the fragmentary tribes of Algonkin lineage, whose descendants, Mr. Hale reminds us, still reside on the Canadian Reservation, which, he adds, "may well be styled an aboriginal 'refuge of nations,' affording striking evidence in our day, of the persistent force of a great idea, when embodied in practical shape by the energy of a master mind."<sup>2</sup>

It was in accordance with this amicable design of the league, that it made no provision in its constitution for carrying on war. It had no military department. A sachem, or member of the Grand Council, was not allowed to go upon

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<sup>1</sup> *Iroquois Book of Rites* p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 33.

the war path. No warrior could hold civil office, lest he should be tempted to use his place to further military ambition. The Iroquois were surrounded by enemies, and occasions for involving the entire confederacy in hostilities, were frequent. There was the constant liability from some quarter, of assault or invasion, usually by stealth to deal a sudden and swift blow. The prowling warrior of some unfriendly tribe would lurk in the woods near some village, through the day, and in the dead of night, fall with hatchet and club on his unsuspecting victims.<sup>1</sup>

Hence, for the most part, war expeditions were private enterprises for retaliation, and composed of small parties or bands, which could easily penetrate the enemy's country. A war chief was at liberty at any time, to gather to his lead a company of braves for this purpose; and if successful was publicly honored for his valor.

At the same time, special provision was made in the laws of the League against the liability of wars among themselves. It was one of the required functions of the federal council to watch against every occasion or cause of domestic strifes, and seek to reconcile disputes that might arise between different clans and tribes, above all in the killing of a tribesman—that most prolific cause of Indian wars. In every such instance, it became the solemn duty of the general council to assume control of the affair, and not even allow the subject to be openly discussed lest the popular passion might be inflamed and rash measures be adopted. It was a subject that received the calmest and most deliberate consideration; and when an adjustment was reached, that was an end to the affair. It was buried so deep that never again could the sun look upon it.<sup>2</sup>

There was another notable feature in this primitive con-

<sup>1</sup> *Iroquois Book of Rites*, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 69.

federacy, in which it differed from the loose forms of government common among the Indian tribes. The office of sachem or councillor was perpetual and not dependent on the life or achievements of the individual chief. When a sachem died, a council was convened to condole his loss, and at the same time to install his successor, chosen by the popular voice, under the limitations imposed in the choice of their rulers. The perpetuity of office is expressed by the significant injunction laid down, with emphasis, in their Book of Rites, that the "horns," which were emblematic of official rank, or as we would say, the insignia of office, should not be buried with the departed chief, but should be taken off at his death and placed upon his lawful successor. It reads thus:

"As soon as he is dead, even then the horns shall be taken off. For if invested with horns he should be borne into the grave, oh, my grandsires," they said, "we should, perhaps, all perish if invested with horns he is conveyed to the grave," i. e. if his office be buried with him.

This was a feature peculiar to the Iroquois league, as compared with other Indian confederations, and the orderly, systematic transmission of official dignity and authority, a vital principle of their federal union, as it is of all stable governments. This, however, did not detract from the respect and veneration in which they held their departed heroes and statesmen. They were wont, as we are sometimes, to draw comparisons of the past with the present, and lament the degeneracy of the times. On the occasion just referred to, of the installation of a councillor, the officiating orator, after reciting the laws of the League and as he was about to rehearse the names of its founders, which still remain the official titles of the successors of the fifty chiefs

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<sup>1</sup> *Iroquois Book of Rites*, p. 125.

who composed its first federal council, appeals to the shades of the mighty dead, in words full of pathos and eloquence. Standing in the midst of the assembled senators, and speaking for them, he breaks out in grief and lamentation:

"Hail my grandsires! Now hearken while your grandchildren cry mournfully to you, because the Great League which you established has grown old. We hope that they may hear.

"Hail my grandsires! You have said that sad will be the fate of those who came in the latter times. \* \* \*

"Oh my grandsires! Even now that has become old which you established—the Great League. You have it as a pillow under your heads in the ground where you are lying—this Great League, which you established; although you said that far away in the future, the Great League would endure.<sup>1</sup>

"Now, listen, ye who established the Great League. Now, it has become old. Now, there is nothing but wilderness. Ye are in your graves who established it. Ye have taken it with you and placed it under you and there is nothing left but a desert. There ye have taken your intellects with you. What ye established, ye have taken with you. Ye have placed under your heads what ye established—the Great League."<sup>2</sup>

This was their way of commemorating the virtues and deeds of their great men and benefactors, and of perpetuating the principles on which their government rested. They had no executive head, no chief who outranked his fellows; but all authority was vested in the council, composed of the fifty sachems, who perpetuated the names of the original framers of the confederacy, and convened as often as public business required. If the Senecas, for example, desired the

<sup>1</sup> *Iroquois Book of Rites*, pp. 123, 125.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 123.

calling of the council for advice and action, they dispatched a messenger to the Cayugas, with the wampum belt as a sign of his mission, when the Cayugas would send one of their number clothed with similar authority to the Onondagas; and they to the neighboring Oneidas, and the Oneidas to the Mohawks; and as the summons flew from canton to canton, a public interest was excited and often a large number of the people—men, women and children—would gather at the capital to witness the proceedings. When the council fire was lighted and the smoke rose to the sky as emblematic of the call to consider the business in hand, it was the custom to rehearse in the presence of all, the words of their law as addressed to the sachems, reminding them of the grave duties entrusted to them as the representatives of the whole people.

“What is the purpose of the smoke?” asks the orator who opens the council. “It is this—that the chiefs must all be honest; that they must all love one another; and that they must have regard for their people, including the women and also our children, and also those children whom we have not yet seen; so much they must care for, that all may be in peace, even the whole nation. It is the duty of the chiefs to do this, and they have the power to govern their people. If there is anything to be done for the good of the people, it is their duty to do it.”<sup>1</sup>

Their legislation had this wide reach, and the league was effective to devise ways for the correction of evils and the doing away of customs, that had proved the weakness of other Indian nations. No emoluments were attached to the public service and the popular esteem was the sole reward for the faithful performance of duty. In the absence of a written constitution and laws, they improved every opportu-

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<sup>1</sup> *Froquois Book of Rules*, p. 170.



nity of a public nature, to recite from memory their carefully preserved traditions, which embraced the leading facts of their history, and which were thus made familiar to the people.

We are so accustomed to measure the aboriginal Indian, by the degenerate and often degraded specimens of the race, which still linger on the borders of our civilization, or are cooped in reservations, that it is difficult to do justice to his native character. But the fact is, he does not suffer from comparison with the average colonist Dutch, French or English, either in intellectual or moral manhood. He was above the standard of civilized life, in parts of Europe in the same period. There are no such pictures of the ferocity of the red man, even by the most unfriendly hand, as the historian has given us of whole communities in the Highlands of Scotland, not two centuries ago. Mr. Lecky, in his *History of England in the eighteenth century*, describes the common people in those parts of Britain, as broken into fierce classes, ruled by wild chieftains; as thieves and cattle-lifters, kidnappers of men and children to be sold as slaves; as ferocious barbarians, besotted with the most brutal ignorance, and the grossest and gloomiest superstitions; possessed of the rudest modes of agriculture, scratching the earth with a crooked piece of wood for a plough, and for a harrow a bush attached to the tail of a horse, otherwise devoid of a harness; their food, oatmeal and milk, mixed with blood drawn from the living cow; their cooking revolting and filthy, boiling their beef in the hide, and roasting fowls in their feathers, with many like customs and demoralizing habits unknown to aboriginal life on this continent.<sup>1</sup> Cartier found no such people, in the friendly Hochelagans, along the shores of the St. Lawrence, though he was the first European

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<sup>1</sup> See *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* by William Edward Hartpole Lecky, Vol. II, pp. 22-29, London, 1878.

to explore its waters. Hendrick Hudson as he sailed up the river which bears his name, saw no such sight, but found a gentle, courteous, loving people, as he calls them, in the Mohican tribes that dwelt along its banks. It is the good Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island, who from long and intimate acquaintance with the Narragansets, says in his quaint phrase: "For the temper of the brain, in quick apprehension and discerning judgments (to say nothing more), the High Sovereign God and Creator, hath not made them inferior to Europeans." That stern puritan, Edward Winslow, Governor of the Plymouth Colony, writes after this manner, to a friend in England: "We have found the Indians very faithful to the covenants of peace with us, very loving and ready to pleasure us. We go with them, in some cases, fifty miles in the country, and walk as safely with them, in the woods, as in the highways of England. We entertain them in our houses, and they are very friendly in bestowing their venison upon us. They are a people without religion, yet very trusty, quick of apprehension, humorous and just." I could add a volume of similar, and in some respects, more favorable testimony, as to the Hurons and Iroquois, from the French Jesuit Fathers, who were men of culture as well as devotion, and who shared their daily life, eating the same food, lodging under the same roof as permanent guests, that they might the more readily gain their confidence and thus win them to the Christian faith.

Such was the uniform impression that these aborigines made upon the first explorers, colonists and missionaries with whom they had intercourse. They were barbarians, in the sense that they were unacquainted with many of the arts. They were savages in the original meaning of that term, dwellers of the wood, and native to the forest, living, as one tersely puts it, "in tranquil subjection to nature, and dying as her autumnal fruits and leaves fall upon her

**boon.** This is after all the main difference, between savage and civilized life. The savage conforms and adapts himself to nature. He never complains of her ways, nor seeks to change her order. His habit, modes of thought, language, all partake of the freedom, which familiarity with nature alone begets. The native eloquence of the Indian orator, which has become historic, derives its power and grace from this entire sympathy with nature and calm faith in all her moods and phases, which is the one characteristic trait of these primitive barbarians. The civilized man is thrown into antagonism with nature as one of the necessities of progress. He changes the face of things, sacrifices beauty for utility, fights, thwarts nature at every step; and after he has done all, fails to produce a civilization without its uncouth, and even brutal features. Ignorance and poverty, lust and crime, with their tragedies of cruelty and shame, are still the counterparts of culture, wealth, and the most advanced material prosperity. The first colonists who came to this new world, represented the most refined nations on the globe, and yet not one of them, Spain, France or England, if judged by the attitude they stood to each other, or by their methods of government, or even by their social and domestic life, in some of its features, had reason to boast of a superior virtue or a nobler humanity than was native to these denizens of the forest. Their civilized contemporaries have outstripped these barbarians in the temper and arts of inhumanity about in the measure of their superior knowledge and resources as nations. But we do not judge them from their worst side. We do not so judge ourselves as a people, and it is but simple justice that this aboriginal life should be estimated from its best and not its worst side, as if the Indian were the exception to all men, and his only merit the cruel fate that has been meted out to him.

There remains a single inquiry naturally suggested by this

discussion, and which is now receiving the patient attention of such scholars as I have already referred to, viz: What are the ethnic relations of the North American Indian? Is he of Asiatic or European origin? May he not be a distinct type, partaking of the characteristics of both the eastern and western races? Without attempting to answer these questions, it may be said, that the weight of evidence thus far, is in favor of the theory which would derive the American Indian from the aboriginal race of southern and western Europe, which, as we have seen, in many particulars, he so closely resembles. In his admirable essay on "Indian Migrations as evidenced by Language," Mr. Horatio Hale, in addition to the argument derived from similarity of characteristics physical and mental, the force of which he recognizes, remarks: "Of this early European people, by some called the Iberian race, who were ultimately overwhelmed by the Aryan emigrants from central Asia, the Basques are the only survivors that have retained their original language; but all the nations of southern Europe, commencing with the Greeks, show in their physical and mental traits a large intermixture of this aboriginal race. As we advance westward, the evidence of this infusion becomes stronger, until in the Celts of France and of the British Islands, it gives the predominant cast to the character of the people." \* \* \* If communities resembling the Iroquois and the Caribs, once inhabited the British Islands and the western coasts of the adjacent continent, we may be sure that their fleets of large canoes, such as have been exhumed from the peat-deposits and river-beds of Ireland, Scotland and France, swarmed all along the shores and estuaries of that region. Accident or adventure may easily have carried some of them across the Atlantic, not merely once, but in many successive emigrations

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<sup>1</sup> A paper read at a Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Montreal, in August, 1882: re-printed from the *American Antiquarian* for January and April, 1883.

from different parts of western Europe. The distance is less than that which the canoes of the Polynesians were accustomed to traverse. The derivation of the American population from this source, presents no serious improbability whatever."<sup>1</sup>

In the absence of positive knowledge, but with affinities of language and the analogies of race, which are deemed so conclusive in the distribution of peoples, the probabilities strongly favor this European rather than an Asiatic origin of our aboriginal Indians. Besides, as Mr. Hale suggests,<sup>2</sup> how shall we account for the personal independence, amounting to a passion for political freedom, with the capacity for self government, that has always marked the aborigines of this continent and so signally displayed by the Iroquois nations, but of which the Asiatic peoples give no sign? If this shall prove the true story of the origin of the American Indian, it will cease to be a mystery that there should have been found, with the discovery of this continent, a community of tribes, like this of the Iroquois, under a political system instinct with the love of liberty and embodying some of the vital principles of popular government with the traits, mental and moral, essential to such a government. Indeed it would not be strange if, in the further revelations of archaeological research as interpreted by history, it should come to light that our own old world ancestors and the ancestors of the aboriginal Indian of this continent, were nearer of kin than we have been wont to suppose.

Let this be as it may, the red man can never lose his claim upon our regret and sympathy, from the single fact that we have dislodged him from his heritage. We occupy the places from which he has vanished. We may not forget that he was once here: and whether the reason be a just or an

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Migrations, etc.*, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 27.

unjust one, he is here no longer ; that the good of life came to him from the same sources and aspects of nature with which we are surrounded—these unchangeable features of hill and vale, lake and stream, forever identified with him by descriptive names and historic memories. We of this Empire State, above all others, cannot well forget that as a commonwealth, we have succeeded to an estate of prestige and power, bravely won and wisely ruled by these children of the forest ; that so many of our towns and cities perpetuate their ancient sites ; that our highways of commerce and travel, were first mapped out by their well-worn trails, and that our boundary lines from the sea to the lakes, established by their valor, were secured to us through their fidelity to covenants made with our colonial fathers ere they achieved their independence. Thus their history must ever remain closely interwoven with our history as a State, at its most critical period when we were weak and they were strong, and when their friendship turned the scale in favor of liberty after its long conflict on many a battle field of Europe, but destined to be fought over again on their hunting grounds and along their war paths.

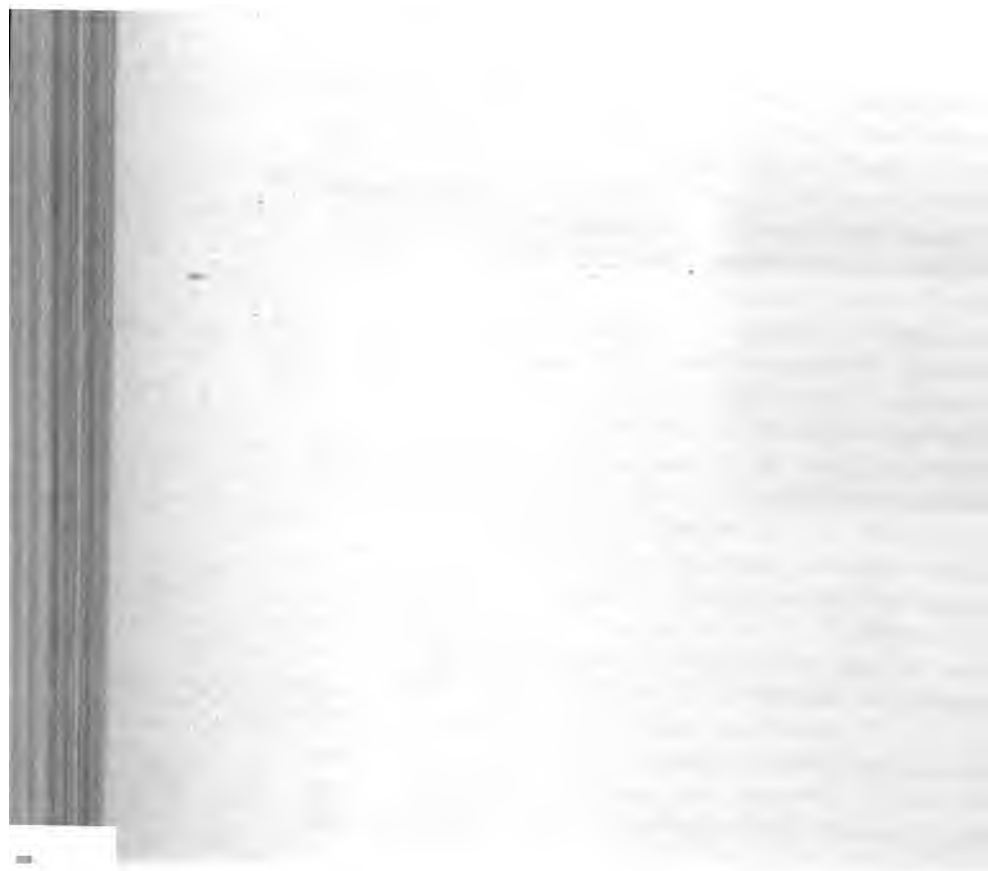
“ Ye say that all have passed away,  
 The noble race and brave ;  
 That their light canoes have vanished  
 From off the crested wave ;  
 That mid the forest where they roamed,  
 There rings no hunter's shout ;  
 But their name is on your waters,  
 Ye may not wash it out.

“ Ye say their cone-like cabins,  
 That cluster'd o'er the vale,  
 Have disappeared like withered leaves  
 Before the autumn gale ;  
 But their memory liveth on your hills,  
 Their baptism on your shore,  
 Your ever living waters speak  
 Their dialect of yore.”



ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
ANNUAL MEETINGS  
OF THE  
CAYUGA CO. HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
1878-1884,  
TOGETHER WITH THE  
BY-LAWS AND LIST OF MEMBERS.





## ABSTRACT.

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No report of the proceedings of the annual meetings of this society has been published since 1878. The following abstract is therefore presented :

At the annual meeting held February 12, 1879, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year :

*President*,—REV. CHARLES HAWLEY, D. D.

*Vice President*,—GEN. WM. H. SEWARD.

*Corresponding Secretary*,—BENJAMIN B. SNOW.

*Recording Secretary*,—NELSON B. ELDRID.

*Treasurer*,—DAVID M. DUNNING.

*Librarian*,—DENNIS R. ALWARD.

*Trustees*,—JOHN H. OSBORNE, BLANCHARD FOSGATE, JOSIAH LETCHWORTH, DAVID M. DUNNING, LEWIS E. CARPENTER, BENJ. B. SNOW, JAMES D. BUTTON.

At the adjourned meeting held February 25th, the President read his annual address, relating to the Sullivan campaign, and Mr. B. B. Snow read a "Record of Current Local Events" of the year preceding. At this meeting measures were taken to establish a "Publication Fund," and the President, and Messrs. B. B. Snow and B. C. Smith were appointed a committee to solicit for such fund. The annual report of the Treasurer was presented, and appears below. It was determined that the society publish the "Hardenbergh Journal" of the Sullivan campaign.

At the annual meeting held February 10, 1880, the officers of the previous year were all re-elected as were also the Trustees, with the exception of Dr. Blanchard Fosgate, who declined, and Mr. Lewis E. Lyon was elected to fill the

vacancy. The President again presented an address, but no other papers or reports were presented.

At the annual meeting held February 8, 1881, the Treasurer presented his annual report which appears below. At this meeting By-Law No. 4 was amended so as to make the annual fee for membership five dollars, instead of ten as heretofore. Measures were also taken to increase the membership.

The officers of the previous year were re-elected, as were also the Trustees.

The exercises of the meeting were closed with the annual address of the President, which is published in Collections No. 2 of the society.

**At the annual meeting held February 14th, 1882, the officers and the trustees of the previous year were duly re-elected. In accordance with established custom the President presented his annual address, published in Collections No. 2 of the society. A fund of one hundred dollars was raised at this meeting to aid in publishing the papers of the society.**

At the annual meeting held February 13th, 1883, the annual reports of the Treasurer and Librarian were read and ordered on file. The officers and trustees of the preceding year were re-elected, except that Mr. John H. Osborne was elected Librarian in place of Mr. D. R. Alward, whose absence from the city interfered with his discharge of the duties to such an extent as to induce him to decline a re-election. Mr. D. W. Adams was, for similar reasons, elected trustee in place of Mr. L. E. Carpenter. The President presented his annual address, which is published herewith.

At the annual meeting held February 12th, 1884, the report of the Treasurer was presented, read and referred. The trustees and officers of the preceding year were duly re-elected, excepting that in place of Mr. Josiah Letchworth,

Trustee, removed from the city, Mr. William G. Wise was duly elected. The President presented his annual address, which is published herewith. It was resolved that the proceedings of the annual meetings since 1878 be published in pamphlet form, and in connection therewith the annual addresses of the President, or so many and such parts thereof as he might furnish for publication.

#### TREASURER'S REPORTS.

The Treasurer's reports from year to year are as follows:

Balance on hand February 1, 1879.....	\$196 63
Received for Membership Fees.....	430
	<u>\$626 63</u>
Paid for Publishing Collections.....	\$129 28
Paid Current Expenses.....	280 12
	<u>————— \$409 40</u>
Balance February 1, 1880.....	\$217 23
Received for Membership Fees.....	\$370 00
Received from Sales of Collections.....	4 50
	<u>————— \$374 50</u>
	\$591 73
Paid Current Expenses for Year.....	<u>316 58</u>
Balance February 1, 1881.....	\$275 15
Received for Membership Fees, 1881.....	170 00
	<u>\$445 15</u>
Paid Current Expenses for Year.....	<u>301 12</u>
Balance February 1, 1882.....	\$144 C3
Received for Membership Fees, 1882.....	315 00
	<u>\$459 03</u>
Paid Current Expenses for Year.....	<u>275 21</u>
Balance February 1, 1883.....	\$183 82
Received for Membership Fees, 1883.....	226 50
	<u>\$410 32</u>
Paid Current Expenses.....	<u>286 56</u>
Balance on hand February 1, 1884.....	<u>\$123 76</u>

## PUBLICATION FUND.

Received from Contributions in Year 1882.....	\$177 00
Less Paid for Balance Cost of Publishing Collection No. 2.....	79 66
Balance on Hand.....	\$ 97 34

## PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

No. 1.—Journal of Sullivan's Campaign by Col. John L. Hardenbergh with notes by Gen. John S. Clark and a biographical sketch by Rev. Charles Hawley, D. D.

No. 2.—Fourth annual address of the President, 1881, Rev. Charles Hawley, D. D.

Fifth annual address of the President, 1882, Rev. Charles Hawley, D. D.

Early History of Friends in Cayuga County, Miss Emily Howland; Inventors and Inventions of Cayuga County, Hon. Cyrenus Wheeler, Jr., with supplement by Hon. D. M. Osborne.

## PAPERS READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY.

The following is a list of the papers which have been read before the Society at its monthly meetings:

1878.

March 12.—Art and Professional Artists in Cayuga County, Col. T. J. Kennedy.

May 14.—Homeopathy, and its Introduction into Cayuga County, H. Robinson, Sen., M. D.

June 12.—Henry Clay's First Visit to Auburn and Western New York, Hon. Wm. H. Bogart.

October 8.—The Auburn Declaration of 1837, Prof. Samuel M. Hopkins, D. D.

November 19.—Early Days in Auburn, Michael S. Myers, Esq.

December 17.—Life and Character of David Thomas, Mr. John J. Thomas.

1879

January 14.—A Sketch of Captain Roswell Franklin, the Pioneer Settler of Cayuga County, Rev. Charles Hawley, D. D.

April 15.—Communism, B. Fosgate, M. D.

May 13.—An Account of the Early Settlement of the Town of Genoa, D. Warren Adams, Esq.

October 14.—Life and Times of Millard Fillmore, Cyrus Powers, M. D.

November 11.—The Bar of Cayuga County from 1843 to 1860, James R. Cox, Esq.

December 16.—Journal of the Sullivan Expedition, written by Col. John L. Hardenbergh, with notes by Gen. John S. Clark, and Biographical Sketch by Rev. Charles Hawley, D. D.

1880.

March 9.—History of the Society of Friends of Cayuga County, Miss Emily Howland.

October 19.—Early Reminiscences of Auburn, Mrs. S. P. Bacon; Early Recollections of Auburn, Mrs. John Porter.

November 16.—Recollections of the Origin and Growth of the Temperance Movement, David Wright, Esq.

November 17.—Inventors and Inventions of Cayuga County, Hon. C. Wheeler, Jr., supplemented by a sketch of the life of Mr. Wheeler, with an account of his inventions, by Hon. D. M. Osborne.

1881.

January 11.—Some Reminiscences of my Early Life in Auburn, Mrs. S. Benton Hunt.

March 8.—Recollections of my Early Life in Auburn, Mrs. Deborah A. Bronson.

April 12.—Autobiography of Judge Elijah Miller and his Early Recollections of Cayuga County, read by Frederick I. Allen.

October 11.—My Early Recollections of Auburn, Mrs. A. B. Clary.

November 15.—Reminiscences of Port Byron, J. D. Button, M. D.

1882.

March 14.—Early Reminiscences of Auburn, Leverett Ball, Esq.

October 10.—Memorial of Mrs. A. B. Clary, J. D. Button, M. D.; Sketch of the Life of Governor Enos T. Throop, Mrs. E. T. T. Martin.

November 14.—An Unwritten Chapter in the History of Auburn, Harold E. Hills, Esq.

1883.

January 16.—Early History of the Bank of Auburn, part I, James Seymour, Jr., Esq.

March 13.—Early Settlement of the Town of Owasco, Hon. John I. Brinkerhoff.

April 25.—The Cayuga Joint Stock Company, Weston A. Ogden, Esq.

1884.

January 15.—Some Reminiscences of the late C. H. Merri-  
man, James R. Cox, Esq.

May 13.—Memorial Sketch of Silas L. Bradley, Rev. W.  
H. Allbright.

## BY-LAWS.

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1. The name of the Society shall be, "The Cayuga County Historical Society."

2. The object of the Society shall be to discover, procure and preserve whatever relates to the natural, civil, military, industrial, literary and ecclesiastical history, and the history of science and art, of the State of New York, in general, and the County of Cayuga in particular.

3. The Society shall consist of resident, honorary, and corresponding members. Resident members shall be nominated by a member in open meeting, and the nominations referred to the membership committee, which shall report thereon at the next regular meeting. A ballot shall then be taken in which five negative votes shall exclude. Resident members only shall be entitled to vote. Honorary and corresponding members shall be elected in the same manner.

4. The annual dues for resident members shall be five dollars each year, payable on the first day of February in advance. The sum of fifty dollars paid at one time shall be in full for all annual dues during life. A failure or refusal to pay annual dues within three months after the same become due, shall work a forfeiture of membership, and the Trustees shall erase the name of such delinquent from the roll of members unless said dues shall be paid, or be remitted by a vote of the Society.

5. The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice-President, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, Treasurer, Librarian, and seven Trustees, all of whom shall be elected by ballot from the resident members only, and



shall hold their offices for one year, and until others are chosen to fill their places.

6. The annual meeting of the Society shall be held on the second Tuesday in February in each and every year, at which a general election of officers shall take place. In such election a majority of the ballots given for any officer shall constitute a choice; if no choice is made on the first ballot, another ballot shall take place, in which a plurality shall determine the choice.

7. If a vacancy shall occur in any office the same may be filled by the Board of Trustees.

8. The Society shall meet **statedly for the transaction of business on the second Tuesday of each month, at such hour of the day as may be decided upon, unless otherwise specially ordered. The President, or in his absence, the Vice-President, may call special meetings for special purposes, the nature thereof being fully set forth in the call.**

9. At the stated meetings of the Society, the following shall be the order of business:

1. Reading the proceedings of the last meeting.
2. Reports and communications from officers.
3. Reports of the Board of Trustees, and of standing committees.
4. Reports of special committees.
5. Election of members previously proposed.
6. Nomination of new members.
7. Reading of papers, delivery of addresses, and discussion thereon.
8. Miscellaneous business.

10. Seven members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

11. The President, or in his absence the Vice-President, or in their absence a Chairman *pro tempore* shall perform all the duties pertaining to that office.

12. The Corresponding Secretary shall have charge of all the correspondence and perform all the duties pertaining to the same.

13. The Recording Secretary shall have charge of the seal, charter, by-laws and books of record, and perform all the duties pertaining to his office.

14. The Treasurer shall collect and keep the funds and securities of the Society, and they shall be deposited in a safe bank to the credit of the Society, and only drawn therefrom on his check, for the purposes of the Society, and by the approval of the Executive Committee. He shall keep a true account and report the same to the Society and to the Finance Committee whenever either of them shall require.

15. The Librarian shall have charge of the Library and be general custodian of all the books, maps, pamphlets, pictures, and all other property contributed to the Society. He may receive and arrange articles loaned to the Society and sign a receipt for the same, to be returned when called for by the owners thereof.

16. Library regulations :

1. No book or other article shall at any time be lent to any person to be removed from the library, except by express consent of the Board of Trustees.
2. No paper or manuscript read before the Society and deposited therewith, shall be published except by the consent of the Trustees and the author.
3. All members may have access to the rooms at any reasonable times, and may consult and examine any book or manuscript, except such as may be designated by the Trustees. But no person not a member shall have such privilege except a donor, or one introduced by a member, or by special authority of the Executive Committee.
4. Any injury done to books or other articles shall be

reported by the Librarian to the Executive Committee, and the damage shall be required for such injury.

17. The Board of Trustees shall have charge and control of the business and property of the Society.

The Vice-President shall be *ex officio* Chairman, and the Recording Secretary shall be Secretary of the Board. They shall have charge and general supervision and management of the rooms and all the property and funds of the Society. They shall meet monthly at the rooms the evening before the regular meeting, and four members shall be a quorum to do business.

The Chairman shall appoint from their number :

1st, An Executive Committee.

2d, A Finance Committee.

3d, A Membership Committee, consisting of three members each.

18. It shall be the duty of the Executive Committee to solicit donations and contributions, to propose and digest business for the Society; to authorize disbursements and expenditures of unappropriated money in the Treasury for the payment of current expenses of the Society, and for Library, purchase of books, printing and binding; but no expenditure or liability shall be made at any time, exceeding the amount of cash in the Treasury, and the available assets of the Society.

The committee shall have a general superintendence of the interests of the Society under the control and direction of the Board of Trustees, and report to them as often as may be required.

19. The Finance Committee shall examine the books and accounts of the Treasurer, and audit all bills and accounts against the Society, and be able to report at all times the condition of the Society as to funds, etc.

20. The Committee on Membership shall report on all nominations for membership before an election shall be had.

21. The President shall appoint a committee of five members of the Society, to which shall be referred all papers and addresses presented to the Society, and said Committee shall examine the same, and give notice of the time of the reading of any paper before the Society. It shall also be their duty to solicit and provide some paper on a subject in the second by-law designated, to be read at each meeting; and shall give public notice of the same.

22. Amendments or alterations of the By-Laws may be made by a majority vote at any regular meeting, provided such an amendment or alteration shall have been prepared and entered upon the minutes at a meeting held at least four weeks previous, with the name of the member proposing the same.

## OFFICERS—1884.

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CHARLES HAWLEY, D. D.

*Vice President,*

GEN. WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

*Corresponding Secretary,*

**BENJAMIN B. SNOW.**

*Recording Secretary,*

**NELSON B. ELDRED.**

*Treasurer,*

**DAVID M. DUNNING.**

*Librarian,*

**JOHN H. OSBORNE.**

*Trustees:*

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**BENJAMIN B. SNOW,**

**LEWIS E. LYON,**

**D. WARREN ADAMS,**

**JAMES D. BUTTON, M. D.,**

**DAVID M. DUNNING,**

**WILLIAM G. WISE.**

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**JOHN H. OSBORNE,**

**H. D. WOODRUFF,**

**BYRON C. SMITH,**

**FREDERICK I. ALLEN.**

*On Membership,*

**JAMES D. BUTTON,**

**B. B. SNOW,**

**WILLIAM G. WISE,**

*On Finance,*

**D. M. DUNNING,**

**D. W. ADAMS,**

**LEWIS E. LYON.**

*Executive Committee,*

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**J. H. OSBORNE,**

**LEWIS E. LYON.**

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HENRY IVISON, Esq.,	New York City.
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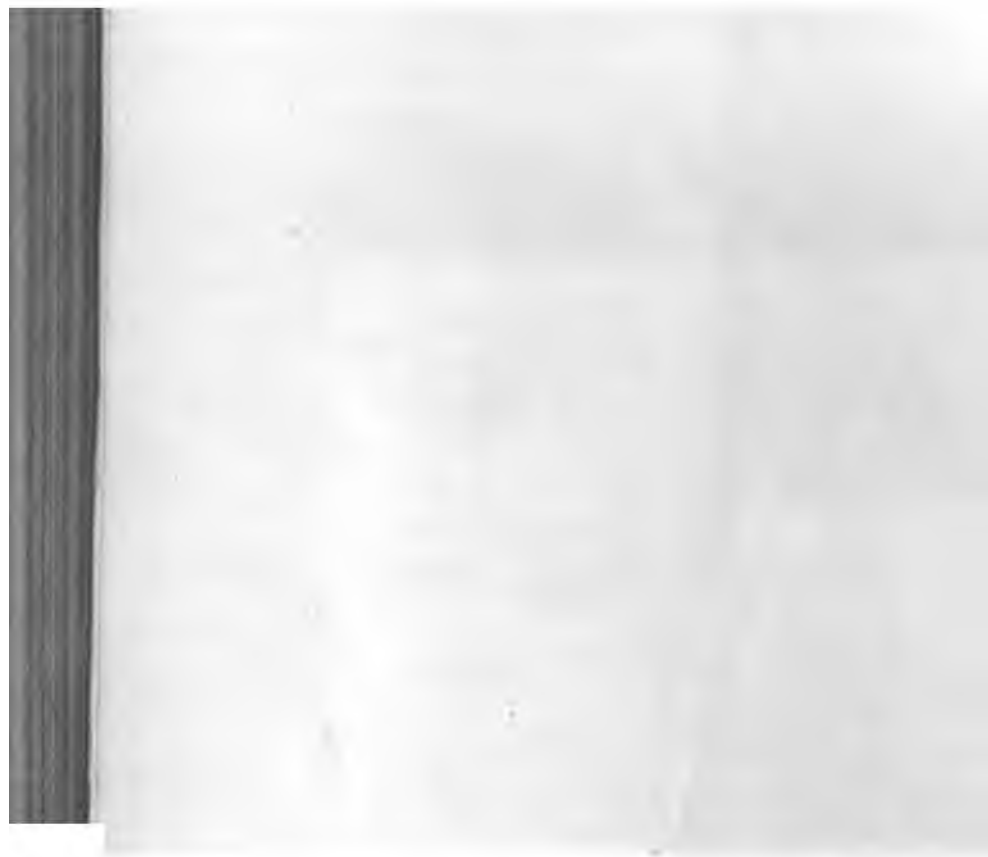
†Deceased.



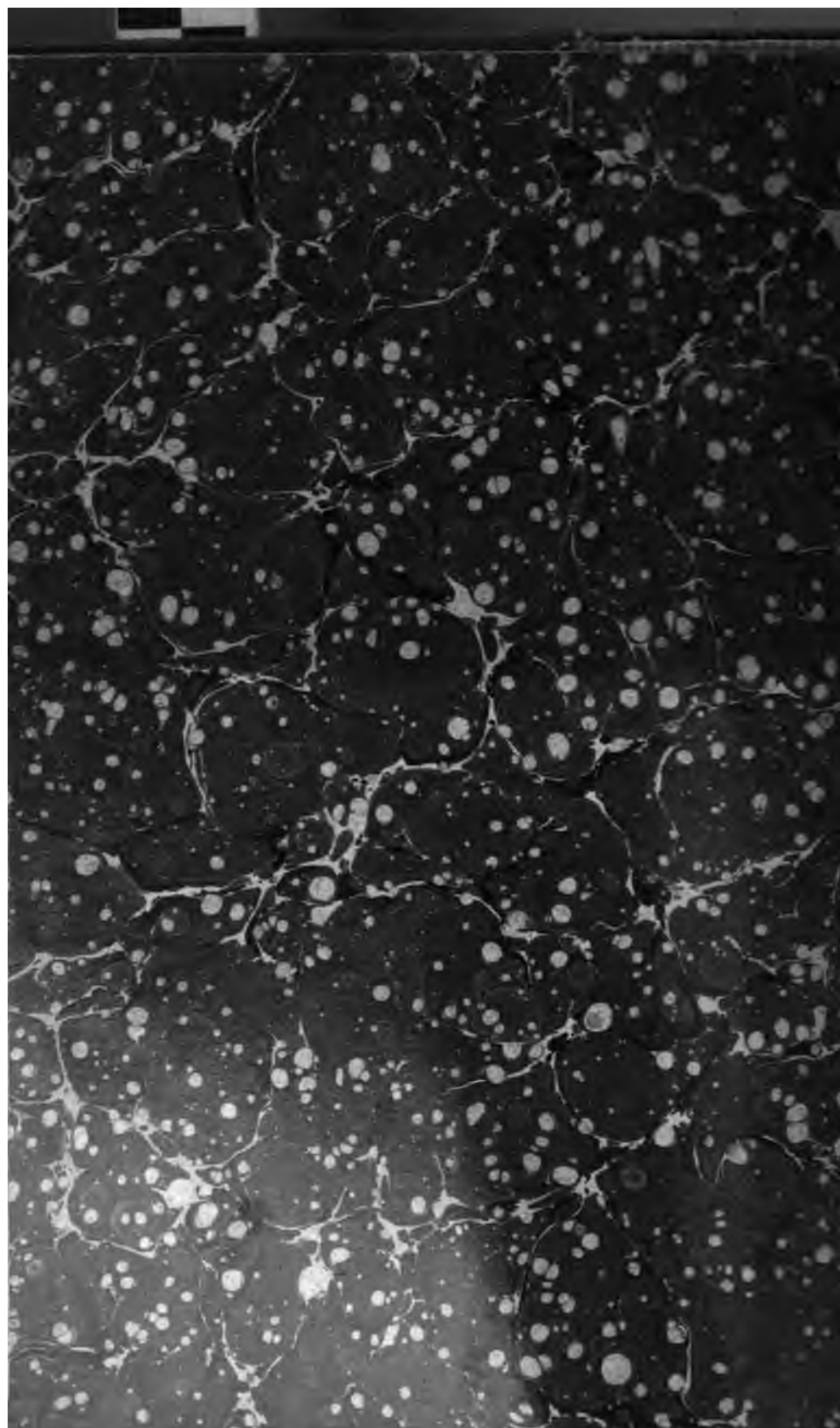












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